

LITERATURE OF JAVA
VOLUME I

TO MY WIFE

KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT
VOOR TAAL-, LAND- EN VOLKENKUNDE
LEIDEN

LITERATURE OF JAVA

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ OF JAVANESE MANUSCRIPTS
IN THE
LIBRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIDEN
AND OTHER PUBLIC COLLECTIONS
IN THE NETHERLANDS

BY

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VOLUME I
SYNOPSIS OF JAVANESE LITERATURE
900–1900 A.D.

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VOLUME I

Synopsis of Javanese Literature, 900—1900 A.D.

VOLUME II

Descriptive Lists of Javanese Manuscripts in the
Library of the University of Leiden
and Other Public Collections in The Netherlands.

VOLUME III

Illustrations and Facsimiles of Manuscripts,
Maps, Addenda and a General Index of Names
and Subjects.

PREFACE

The present "Literature of Java, Catalogue Raisonné of Javanese Manuscripts" is a publication of the Library of the University of Leiden. It is no. IX of the series "Codices Manuscripti" published by this Library, and it is made available to the public by the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology. Originally the work was only meant to be a sequel to Dr H. H. Juynboll's "Supplement op 'den Catalogus van de Javaansche en Madoereesche Handschriften der Leidsche 'Universiteits-Bibliotheek'" in two volumes. The second volume appeared in 1911. It soon became clear, however, that this was the opportunity to publish an English Catalogue which could be used as an introduction to the study of Javanese literature more easily than the previous Dutch catalogues could. It is a matter of fact that Dr Juynboll and his predecessors wrote their catalogues with the intention of providing information on Javanese literature in general, and for several decades their books did render excellent services to students of Javanese civilization.

The differences in structure between the older catalogues and the present book will be explained in the introduction to the second volume. In two volumes the contents of the previous catalogues, increased by an equal quantity of new material, has been rearranged according to a new system. The third volume, containing illustrations, facsimiles of manuscripts, maps and a general index of names and subjects, is entirely new.

The author gratefully acknowledges the facilities put at his disposal by the Curators of the State University of Leiden, the Librarian of the University Library, the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (Z.W.O.) of The Hague and the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology (Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde) of Leiden. He wishes to thank the librarians of collections outside Leiden who consented to have their Javanese manuscripts described in the present book. He expresses his great appreciation for suggestions and advice given by colleagues working in the field of Indonesian philology and for useful information found in their books. Especially he wishes to state his indebtedness to the late professor Radèn Mas Ngabèhi Dr Poerbatjaraka, of Djakarta, Java, whose text-editions and books on literature are indispensable for students of Javanese civilization.

The work of Mr J. Soegiarto, for more than thirty years assistant to the professors of Javanese in the University of Leiden, has been of great use to the

author of the present book. The numerous romanized copies and summaries of literary works made by Mr Soegiarto and duly registered in the Descriptive List of Manuscripts are valued aids for the students of Javanese literature.

The author wants to make clear that the completion of "Literature of Java" has been made possible by the never flagging industry of Mrs E. Andriessen-Lück, whose clerical assistance has been invaluable through many years.

Dr R. Roolvink and Mr P. J. Worsley have kindly taken the trouble to correct the English of the descriptive passages of the present book. They can rest assured that their helpfulness is greatly appreciated.

Grateful for the help, both spiritual and material, received from many sides, the author expresses the hope that "Literature of Java", the result of the collaboration of many workers, both Javanese and Dutch, may be instrumental in stimulating others to make more detailed investigations of the development of culture in the Indian Archipelago.



NOTE:

The system of transliteration of Javanese, Balinese, Malay, Sanskrit and Arabic words which is applied in the present book is explained in 00100 (Latin script).

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The Leiden University Library is, of course, not in the position to provide microcopies of manuscripts belonging to other libraries. Applications for copies should be sent to the librarians concerned. The lists of important collections of manuscripts in Java and Bali are included in the present book only for information.

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PRELIMINARY HISTORICAL REMARKS ON THE LITERATURE OF JAVA

00001 The Importance of Javanese Literature.

Linguistically the Javanese language belongs to that very extensive group of languages, the Austro-Indonesian family, which is spread over innumerable islands of the Southern Hemisphere from Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the east. The Indonesian Archipelago is the home of the most important peoples speaking a language belonging to that family, and among the Archipelago languages, Javanese has the greatest number of speakers (nowadays probably fifty millions or more).

Historically the Javanese language has been the medium of an important civilization since the ninth century A.D. Many peoples inhabiting the southern islands benefited spiritually by the import of ideas and inventions brought to the Archipelago by travelers and immigrants from India, but in Central and East Java, and in Bali, Indian civilizing influence proved most enduring and most deeply penetrating into society. No doubt one of the most valuable gifts of India was the art of writing. Adapting a South Indian script to their native languages, the Javanese and the Balinese were able to write down important texts earlier than any other people inhabiting the southern islands. In consequence of this fact, Javanese and Balinese cultural developments and achieve-

ments during the past ten centuries are better known (or, at least, less unknown), historically, than similar matters in the civilizations of closely related Archipelago peoples. Whereas Javanese literary texts are rather well known from the tenth century A.D. onward, in the case of other Archipelago languages it is often difficult to date texts even within the past four centuries.

With regard to civilization, Java and Bali are so closely connected with the Continent that the islands are rightly considered as belonging to the sphere of Greater India. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Islam and Muslim literature were also imported into the islands from India. Nevertheless in Java and Bali, as in other countries belonging to the Greater India sphere, the indigenous civilization was never completely superseded by Indian import; it was only influenced and its development was stimulated by Indian culture. In the most important products of Javanese and Balinese authors of ancient and modern times the amalgamation of foreign and indigenous elements is apparent.

Geographically Java and Bali are the southernmost countries where Indian cultural influence was of decisive importance. In the course of history East Javanese

districts became cultural centres from where Javanese civilization spread further in the Archipelago. Java and Bali are on the outskirts of the sphere of Greater India civilization. For students of the radiation of Indian culture in South East Asia, some acquaintance with Javanese and Balinese literature is important.

In the present Synopsis Javanese literature is presented in the first place as an aspect of civilization in Java and Bali, the most important centres of culture in the Archi-

pelago through the centuries. Information on names of authors and years of issue of books is deemed of minor importance; it is relegated to the second plan. Moreover in Java and Bali such information is so scant that it would not fill a book. But then, Javanese literature has so many interesting features that by studying it a comprehensive insight into the development of civilization in an important area of South East Asia can be gained.

00010 Javanese Literature and Javanese Civilization.

In the present Synopsis any text written in Javanese is considered as belonging to literature and registered as such, because all texts can supply information on Javanese civilization in its various aspects. Literature is not restricted to Belles-Lettres. All texts written down by authors wishing to impart knowledge or feelings to their fellow-men are deemed worthy of study.

The field covered by the present Synopsis of Javanese literature is almost as extensive as civilization itself, because in many periods of history Javanese authors were diligent writers, writing down anything which seemed of interest to them. This resulted in a great number of private books of notes, in modern Javanese called *primbons*. The contents of many books of this kind are as yet only superficially inspected. Some of them may contain information on private matters of the original owners, interesting for students of sociology. The numerous letters, both private and official, originals and copies, which are preserved in the Leiden collection

of manuscripts, are another source of information on eighteenth and nineteenth century Javanese society.

In order to facilitate scholarly survey, in the present Synopsis the mass of Javanese writings is systematically divided into four Parts (see also 00150):

- I. Religion and Ethics: 10.000-19.240
- II. History and Mythology: 20.000-29.420
- III. Belles-Lettres: 30.000-31.468
- IV. Science, Arts, Humanities, Law; Folklore, Customs; Miscellanea: 40.000-49.970.

The division is a reflex of the relative importance of the four groups with respect to the central concept of Javanese civilization: social, cosmic and religious Order. Of course, texts belonging to Part One are most important in this respect, immediately followed by mythologic and historical texts which are registered in Part Two. In Javanese civilization, mythology and history are closely related, in fact the one merges gradually into the other. Containing the explanation

of the development of human society out of primeval Order, mythology is part of religion; it has also close relations with ritual.

For many centuries authors of belletristic Javanese literature, almost without exception in verse, borrowed their subject-matter from religious, mythologic and historical texts and traditions. In several cases it is doubtful whether a given text should be registered in Part One, Part Two or Part Three. The criterion is its function in Javanese society in the period of its author. In the present Synopsis for every Javanese text a tentative definition of its function in social life, its use in ritual and devotional practice or its appreciation as a work of literary art has been made. Its origin from religious communities, circles of Court scholars and poets or modern authors has been ascertained as far as possible. As often as not internal and circumstantial evidence: idiom, style, subject and script of the codex are the principal grounds of determining the origin of a given text from some social community or circle, because the authors' names and the years of issue of the books are unknown in the majority of cases. The literary appreciation of a text by modern European and Javanese scholars and critics is irrelevant for its classification either as a belletristic, or as a religious, or as a historical book. Only the original intention of the Javanese author counts.

The miscellaneous texts entered into Part Four of the present Synopsis are important as illustrations of the penetration of the central concept of Javanese civilization, social, cosmic and religious Order, into all spheres

of life. Texts on magic, medicine and divination figure largely in Part Four. The definition of these disciplines as pre-scientific science is a correct indication of their place in Javanese civilization. Essentially founded on the central concept of cosmic Order and universal interrelationship, their connection with religious ideas, ceremonies and ritual is in many cases very close. Yet in the present Synopsis texts on magic practices and religious rites have been separated as well as possible, because they are considered as belonging to different spheres of life, the secular or profane or private, and the ecclesiastical or scholastical or communal.

The connection of texts on Arts, Humanities (grammar, philology etc.) and Law, with fundamental religious concepts, is not always as evident as in the case of pre-scientific science. Still it exists. Several texts belonging to these groups contain references to books registered in Part One, Two, or Three. Many aspects of religion, of mythology, of history and of literary art are treated in texts registered in Part Four. The connection of books on Law with the structure of Javanese society is clear anyway.

Of course descriptions of folk-lore and popular customs contain many references to Javanese religion. In the Miscellanea at the end of Part Four texts and notes containing information on various subjects are collected.

The General Index (volume Three) has numerous catchwords referring to various subjects in the spheres of religion and ethics, mythology and history, magic, divination, folk-lore etc., with indications of codexes containing information on these subjects.

00020 Outline of the Development of Javanese Literature: Four Eras.

The number of Javanese texts containing reliable information on the date when they were first written is very small. In many cases years mentioned in proemiums or colophons refer to the making of the copy, not to the composing of the original text. The number of authors explicitly mentioning their names in their works is also small. In fact only in some periods of the history of Javanese letters was it the custom for authors to do so. The poets of classic Old Javanese epic poems living at the Courts of East Javanese Kings, flourishing from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, used to mention the names of their Royal patrons, together with their own names, in the proemiums or the colophons of their works. Perhaps they hoped for a palpable reward for their labour. The eighteenth and nineteenth century Surakarta authors who developed a renaissance of classical letters probably followed the example of their admired predecessors in inserting notes on personalia in their works.

In a majority of cases the period of the writing of a given Javanese book is a matter of conjecture. Especially small texts are difficult to date. The same condition of timelessness and namelessness prevails in the literatures of many other peoples living in the sphere of the Greater Indian civilization. In Java the exactitude on the point of personalia and years developed in Arabic literature was not taken over except by a few authors of orthodox Islamic religious treatises. The disregard of exact information on authorship of books is an instance of the relatively superficial influence of Muslim

Arabic literature.

As modern students of Javanese literature cannot do without some historical insight into developments, in the present Synopsis the following chronological scheme of four eras is introduced (see also 00150).

A. The first era is a pre-Islamic period of about six centuries, beginning about 900 A.D., up to about 1500 A.D., the traditional date of the victory of Islam over pre-Islamic belief in the East Javanese kingdom of Majapahit. Javanese texts indubitably written in the pre-Islamic period have been preserved for posterity mainly in eighteenth and nineteenth century Balinese manuscripts. The idiom is called Old Javanese. In Java the original Javanese tradition of literature was interrupted and all but cut off by the rise of Islam. The books of era A correspond with the first group of Javanese texts (1), mentioned in 00030, which is distinguished from subsequent groups on linguistic grounds.

The remnants of pre-Islamic Javanese literature are scanty. In some cases it is doubtful whether a given text was written in Java or in Bali. In the relatively small number of Old Javanese texts a chronological distinction can be made between works of authors living in the period of suzerainty of the Kaḍiri Kings (up to about 1200 A.D.) and their predecessors, on the one side, and books written in the subsequent Siṅhasari-Majapahit period on the other. Almost all Old Javanese texts were written in East Java, mainly in districts situated in the basin of the river Brantas. The few exceptions are some very old texts probably written

in the tenth century in Central Java in the district of Mataram, in the basin of the rivers Opak and Praga.

In the pre-Islamic period Indian culture was a most important factor in the development of Javanese literature. During some centuries, perhaps up to the twelfth century, Indian literary influence was dominant in all respects. Afterwards indigenous Javanese concepts came gradually to the fore (see 30.080). In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Javanese authors wrote some books containing ideas and mythic speculations which seem pre-eminently autochthonous Javanese. At that time an amalgamation of imported elements of Indian culture and native Javanese concepts was effected in literature.

B. The second era of the chronological scheme is a Javanese-Balinese period of about four centuries, beginning about 1500 A.D. and lasting up to the present time. Javanese-Balinese literature (era *B*) is written in the Javanese-Balinese literary idiom (group 2) mentioned in 00030. Since the thirteenth century, or even earlier, the island of Bali seems to have been brought gradually within the sphere of influence of East Javanese Kings, and in the fourteenth century the dynasty of Majapahit ruled the country. According to Javanese historical tradition, about 1500 A.D. the last Majapahit King, ousted from his Royal residence by Muslim insurgents, fled eastwards and found a refuge in Bali. There may be some truth in this tradition. Anyway the Balinese rulers did not embrace Islam, and in Bali Old Javanese literature was preserved and cherished. In the course of time at the Courts of the sixteenth and seventeenth century South Balinese

Kings of Gèlgèl and Klungkung, Old Javanese letters developed into a Javanese-Balinese literature with characteristic features of its own. Indigenous Balinese mythical and historical traditions were introduced, and a new style of prosody, well suited to the structure of the Balinese and Javanese languages, was cultivated.

Side by side with Javanese-Balinese literature, and stimulated by it, a purely Balinese literature developed. Before the period of Javanese cultural and political domination in Bali, since the thirteenth century, an Old Balinese literary idiom had been in use at the Courts of native Balinese rulers. Like Old Javanese, Old Balinese had developed under the influence of Indian culture. After an interval of about five centuries, the period of Javanese domination, the native Balinese language was used again as a medium of literary activity. Probably this was in the seventeenth or the eighteenth century. Balinese language and literature of the second flourishing period, which endures up to the present time, are strongly influenced by Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese. In some cases it is difficult to decide whether a given text should be registered as belonging to Javanese-Balinese or to Balinese literature. As a rule all Javanese texts from Bali have been included in the present Synopsis. Only writings in an idiom which indubitably is native Balinese have been left out (see 30190). Balinese literature deserves to be described in a separate book: it has merits of its own.

It is very difficult to establish any kind of chronological order in the mass of Javanese-Balinese literature, because scarcely any text is dated. In some cases older texts be-

longing to the Gèlgèl period can be distinguished from younger texts belonging to the subsequent eighteenth and nineteenth century Kluṅkuṅ reigns by the growing prominence of Balinese forms and vocabulary in the latter texts.

Javanese-Balinese literature developed out of Old Javanese letters and Balinese tradition. No foreign influence was in evidence except Islam. Though the ruling classes of Bali, the Courts and the clergy, adhered to ancestral religious concepts and ritual, somehow Javanese Islamic literature penetrated into mercantile middle-class communities in the country, and a small Muslim Javanese-Balinese literature developed. Its exact chronology is unknown, but its relationship with seventeenth and eighteenth century Javanese Pasisir literature (era C) is indubitable.

C. The third era of the chronological scheme introduced in the present Synopsis is the era of Javanese Pasisir literature of about three centuries, beginning about 1500 A.D. So it coincides with the first half of the era of Javanese-Balinese literature. Texts belonging to era C of the scheme were written in the literary idioms of East Java, Madura and the North Coast districts (in 00030 registered as groups 3 and 4).

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Islam was in the ascendant in Java. Political power devolved from the inland Court of Majapahit to Muslim dynasts ruling in various maritime districts and trading centres on the North Coast. In these districts, from Surabaya and Grēsik in the east up to Cërbon and Bantën in the west, a rejuvenated Javanese literature developed under the influence of Islam. In the present Synopsis it is called with a Javanese name for those

coastal districts: Pasisir literature.

In the period of Pasisir culture authors were very active in writing books on all subjects belonging to the sphere of Muslim Javanese civilization. Far from ignoring pre-Islamic literature, however, they assimilated many elements of Old Javanese culture. The result was an amalgam of Muslim and pre-Islamic culture, in several respects showing survivals of ancient indigenous Javanese concepts.

The three centres of Pasisir literature in Java were Surabaya (with Grēsik), Dëmāk (with Japara) and Cërbon (with Bantën). East Javanese Pasisir texts came first, for in East Java Muslim religious influence first became an important element in civilization.

Starting from Java, Islamic Pasisir culture spread to some other islands of which the coasts are washed by the Java sea. The most important outlying cultural provinces were Lombok and Palémbar. In the island of Lombok a remarkable Islamic Javanese-Balinese literature came into existence. The texts contain reminiscences of indigenous Sasak culture. The native Sasak language developed into a medium of literary activity side by side with the Javanese-Balinese idiom.

Probably for centuries, even in the pre-Islamic period, the district of Palémbar in South Sumatra was ruled by dynasts of Javanese extraction. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Javanese Pasisir literature was cultivated at Court. In the nineteenth century Javanese cultural influence in Palémbar declined in consequence of the fall of the dynasty. Malay took the place of Javanese.

The important oversea expansions of Java-

nese Pasisir literature, both eastwards and westwards, started from East Java. Minor expansions of Javanese Pasisir culture took their course from Bantěn and from Central Javanese maritime towns. The districts affected by them, Lampung in South Sumatra by Bantěn, and Bañjar Masin in Borneo by Central Java, did not produce Javanese literary texts of any importance, however.

In Javanese Pasisir literature, the influence of Islamic culture was strong. Islam first reached Java by the intermediary of Malay literature, Malay being the medium of the interinsular commerce which brought Muslim traders from India to the Archipelago. As a result, Pasisir literature contains borrowings from Malay and from Arabic, the sacred language of Islam, but also from other continental languages, in the first place Persian, which was the universal Islamic medium in India in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

D. The fourth era of the chronological scheme is the period of the renaissance of classical Javanese literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Literature belonging to era *D* was written in the Surakarta and Yogyakarta idioms, registered in 00030 as group 5. The cultural centre was the Court of the inland Central Javanese Kings in Kartasura, Surakarta and Yogyakarta. The fame of the Surakarta authors, called *pujangas*, spread all over Java, and their style was much imitated. In consequence in the nineteenth century Surakarta renaissance literature was considered as the Javanese literature par excellence, and works of authors belonging to the preceding Pasisir era fell into oblivion or were disregarded. The Surakarta Court idiom with its rigid

rules of class distinction in vocabulary (the so-called manners of speech, *krama* and *ngoko* etc.) was accepted almost everywhere as exemplary.

Probably in the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century Pasisir literature was already on the decline in consequence of economic and political retrogression in the mercantile towns on the North Coast where the authors and their patrons lived. One by one the maritime districts were vanquished by the forces of the despotic Kings of inland Mataram. Their overseas trade, the source of their prosperity, receded as a result of the rise of Batavia.

The Central Javanese renaissance culture of the nineteenth century was the successor of seventeenth and eighteenth century Pasisir civilization, which in its time formed a cultural link between maritime districts along the coasts of Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok. The differences between the two are geographical and ideological. Geographically, seventeenth and eighteenth century Javanese Pasisir culture was interinsular. But then it was mainly confined to the maritime districts of the islands. It was not in all respects unified, using different languages and idioms. Nineteenth century Central Javanese *pujanga* culture, on the other hand, was national Javanese. Belonging to the interior of the country, and using the mannered Court idiom of Surakarta and Yogyakarta, it was unified to a high degree.

Ideologically the difference between Pasisir and *pujanga* literature consists in their origin and development. In the Pasisir literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, on the one hand, the principal concern was religion. It superseded the culture of the

preceding non-Islamic period, in the meantime retaining several features of pre-Islamic civilization. Its origin was middle-class. In the Central Javanese civilization of the nineteenth century, on the other hand, Muslim religion was taken for granted. The *pujangas* were mostly interested in the remains of pre-Islamic belletristic literature. Their books were meant to be reading-matter for gentlemen.

Eighteenth and nineteenth century renaissance authors were masters in adapting the products of former periods of literature, as far as known to them. Some Old Javanese epic *kakawins* were turned into modern Javanese poems. Historical, romantic and theatrical literature flourished. The wayang theatre became the favourite pastime at Court, and plays were composed by Kings and princes.

Originating from the interior of the country, Surakarta renaissance literature lacked stimulating contacts with foreign cultures oversea, like its predecessor in Central Java, Pasisir literature, had. Neither international Islam nor interinsular Malay literature were appreciated at Court. Javanese-Balinese letters, which in the eighteenth century were flourishing in Bali, were unknown in Central Java.

Eighteenth and nineteenth century renaissance literature was heavily indebted to eighteenth century Pasisir literature, especially of the Central and East Javanese maritime districts. After a long period of dynastic troubles and internal wars, which were detrimental to the mercantile towns on the seacoast, peace was finally restored in Central and East Java in the middle of the eighteenth century. Probably since that time

traffic by prao on the river Bĕḡawan was instrumental in establishing contacts between Surakarta and Grĕsik, the ancient centre of the decaying East Javanese Pasisir culture. It is a fact that the Surakarta scholars' knowledge of the admired Old Javanese *kakawins* was second-hand. Manuscripts written in Pasisir districts were intermediaries. The superior Balinese codexes of Old Javanese texts were not available in Central Java.

In the nineteenth century Surakarta authors were stimulated by the presence of three Dutch scholars, Winter, Gericke and Wilkens, who were studying Javanese language and literature in Central Java. Through their intermediary some knowledge of European culture spread at Court. The Bible was translated into Javanese.

The second half of the nineteenth century and the first decades of the twentieth century were the period of development of Surakarta renaissance letters into a common Javanese belletristic literature characterized by its predilection for the wayang theatre and wayang plays. In consequence of the maintenance of peace and order in the interior of the country and an unprecedented increase of traffic by means of the railways, Surakarta (and, in a minor degree, also Yogyakarta) Court culture developed into a common spiritual sphere of the *priyayi* class, the gentlefolk of Java. Probably never before the nineteenth century such a sense of cultural unity was prevalent among the members of the well-educated classes in the interior of the country. Henceforth the Court culture radiating from Surakarta and Yogyakarta was considered by educated people as the only genuine Javanese civilization.

Notwithstanding the early nineteenth cen-

tury contacts of Surakarta authors with Dutch scholars, the modern European novel and short story did not begin to develop in Javanese literature before the second or third decade of the twentieth century. Apparently for a long time the appeal of the well-known phantastic wayang play literature was stronger than the interest in new fiction dealing with problems of modern times.

In all periods of history conservatism and a tendency to retrospection and mythography have been characteristic features of Javanese literature. Its endurance for many centuries, adapting elements of foreign cultures, Indian and Islamic, but not superseded by

them, is remarkable. Apparently cultural conservatism upheld Javanese authors and scholars in the critical periods when foreign ideologies were introduced into their national society. It remains to be seen whether in times to come Javanese conservatism will prove strong enough to adapt and integrate foreign elements with the same success as it did in the past. Anyway Javanese cultural conservatism seems a valuable asset in the amalgam of modern Indonesian civilization which is developing in the twentieth century. The present Synopsis of Javanese literature up to about 1900 is not the place to discuss modern developments at any length, however.

00030 The Javanese Language, historically.

The areas of Java where Javanese is the native language of the people are situated in the central and eastern parts of the island and along the north coast. Uhlenbeck's book on the languages of Java and Madura (1964, p. 42) contains information on this point. The existence of several dialects, still insufficiently studied, is mentioned also in that book (p. 59 and 63-65). In the present Synopsis (45650) some manuscripts containing notes on various Javanese dialects are registered.

The history of Javanese dialects and the spread of the language over the areas where it is spoken now are even less well known than its present state. The history is largely a matter of conjecture. It seems probable that originally the rivers were the main roads of traffic, and so tribes or territorial communities living in the basin of one river probably showed more similarity of idiom

between them than with people belonging to another river. The great rivers of East and Central Java, from east to west, are the Brantas and the Bengawan, discharging into the Java sea in the East Javanese districts of Surabaya and Grèsik, the Opak and the Praga, debouching into the Southern Ocean in the Central Javanese district of Mataram, and the Sërayu, emptying itself also into the Southern Ocean, in the western Cilacap and Bañumas districts, which are borderlands between the areas of Javanese and Sundanese speaking populations. Beside the rivers, the placid Java sea provided an easy means of communication between the districts on its shores. Probably the East and West Monsoon winds, changing with regular intervals, and the sea and land winds, were observed and used by Javanese shore-dwelling fishermen in an early period of history. The breakers of the Southern Ocean

and the rocky shores, however, were serious impediments for the development of inter-provincial and inter-insular traffic along the south coasts of Java and Bali.

In accordance with the geophysical situation, Javanese cultural and political history had three centres consecutively: the basins of the southern rivers Opak and Praga, the basin of the Brantas and the eastern and central North Coast districts. The Bĕjawan and its principal affluent, taking their rise in Central Java, provided means of communication between the central inland districts and the North East Coast. The Sĕrayu basin, however, did not become a centre of civilization of any importance in the course of Javanese history.

The three politically and culturally important centres of the Javanese land, for short henceforth called Central Java, East Java and the Pasisir[†] (the Coast districts), made their appearance in history in consequence of the activities of Indian traders and immigrants. The Indians' motives for sailing to the southern islands are a matter of conjecture. Originally the finding of rich gold sediments in the rivers may have been the inducement. Afterwards the extraordinary fertility of the soil and the regular supply of water for irrigation made settling among the Javanese indigenous tribes attractive. Probably the Javanese have known how to grow rice on terraced and irrigated fields since a very early period. Gradually the gold sediments in the rivers became exhausted, but in the meantime indigenous Javanese political organization had partly been Indianized, and Indian religion, literature and art had acclimatized in Java. No doubt this acculturation of elements of Indian culture

in Java was made easy by the presence of a pre-Indian indigenous social organization of considerable refinement. The intricate system of irrigation indispensable for an extensive cultivation of rice on terraced fields (*sawahs*) presupposes a stable organization of labour directed by a powerful authority, either a single ruler or a dominating family oligarchy. Already in the pre-Indian period, in the first centuries of the Christian era, Javanese agricultural communities, though not numerous and scattered over a wide area in the jungle, may have known such authorities.

For a very long time Javanese harbours on the North Coast had an important function in South East Asian trade as intermediaries between the Continent and the Spice Islands. The abundant supply of rice available in Java was indispensable for trading vessels on their long voyages both east-bound and west-bound. For centuries Javanese rural communities living in the North Coast districts had the opportunity of acquainting themselves with continental culture by intercourse with traders and sailors who used to spend many months or even years in Java before continuing their voyage or returning home. In this manner the Muslim Faith was introduced into the island.

Since the rise of Islam in Java in the fifteenth century, maritime commerce along the coasts of the Java sea was operative in spreading Javanese culture and enlarging the area where Javanese speech superseded autochthonous idioms. The East Javanese Muslim port of Grĕsik was the centre of proselytizing in far-off Lombok, where a flourishing Islamic literature written in a

Javanese-Balinese idiom developed. In the western parts of Java first the district of Cërbon, and secondly, by zealous fighters for the Faith starting from Cërbon, the westernmost districts Jakarta and Bantën were conquered for Islam and partly Javanized. Sundanese authority was superseded by Javanese in these parts of West Java.

Extensive areas in Central Java east of Cërbon, even as far as the Dìyèñ highland, may also, in the pre-Islamic period, have been inhabited by people speaking Sundanese or a closely related idiom. Names of rivers and mountains, and West Javanese historical traditions, seem to warrant this supposition. Nowadays Javanese dialects are spoken in these districts. Anyway it is certain that in historical times Javanese speech gained ground upon Sundanese in the western parts of the island.

But then it is a well-known fact than in East Java, especially in the districts east of the Těḡgěr-Sméru massif, Madurese superseded Javanese. Madurese settlers were known in East Java already in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and in the subsequent centuries their number steadily increased. They were forced to emigrate by unfavourable economic conditions, a consequence of the poor yield of the meagre fields of their native island. In Buñuwañi, however, the easternmost district of Java, opposite Bali, a Javanese dialect subsists up to the present time, resisting the Madurese influx.

In present-day spoken Javanese dialects a distinction can be made in accordance with the above mentioned geophysic facts and historical developments. In Central and East Java the *a* is pronounced *â* in "open" syllables. Perhaps future students of the spread

of Javanese dialects should also pay some attention to the different negations which are in use (*ora* in Central Java, *ḡak* in East Java, *sin* in Bañuwañi etc.). No doubt in several cases the idiom of written literature and the spoken language will appear to diverge.

In studying literary works, making fine distinctions between dialects is more difficult than in describing everyday speech, because authors always feel constrained by literary rules as applied in admired masterworks which they take for example. In the present Synopsis as far as possible distinctions have been made between the following five groups of texts (see also 00150). They are based on idiomatic peculiarities and the origin of the authors.

1. Old Javanese texts written in the pre-Islamic period.
2. Javanese-Balinese texts written in Bali and Lombok.
3. Texts written in East Java and Madura, in the literary idiom developed in the basins of the river Brantas and the lower course of the Běḡawan.
4. Texts written in the Pasisir districts, along the North Coast.
5. Texts written in the interior of Central Java, the basin of the upper course of the river Běḡawan and the basins of the rivers Opak and Praga, the modern Surakarta and Yogyakarta districts.

Ad 1 (cf. 00020, era *A*). A very small minority of the Old Javanese texts which have come down to us seems to have been written in Central Java. By far the greater part was written in districts situated in the basin of the river Brantas, or elsewhere in East Java. To what extent the idiom of

Old Javanese written literature was a true reproduction of the spoken language of the time is unknown to us, and so it is hazardous to make statements on the spread of dialects in the pre-Islamic period.

Ad 2 (cf. 00020, era *B*). In the present Synopsis Javanese-Balinese is used as a name for the literary idiom of texts written in Bali and Lombok after the disintegration of the East Javanese kingdom of Majapahit and the rise of Islam in Java in the fifteenth century. In many respects Javanese-Balinese literature is a successor of Old Javanese letters, showing some new developments of its own. The name "Midden-Javaans" (Middle Javanese), formerly used by some Dutch scholars with reference to part of the Javanese-Balinese literature is deceptive, because Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese letters are differentiated by origin of the authors (Java on the one side, Bali and Lombok on the other) more than by age (see 00020). In Bali Javanese-Balinese literature continued up to the twentieth century.

In the present book on Literature of Java sometimes also the term Javanese-Sundanese is used. It refers to texts which were written in the border provinces of Javanese civilization in West Java. In fact the idiom verges on the Sundanese. Many Javanese-Balinese and Javanese-Sundanese texts were registered as Balinese and Sundanese in Juynboll's "Supplement op den Catalogus van 'de Sundaneesche Handschriften en Catalogus van de Balineesche en Sasaksche handschriften' 1912, in the present book quoted as "Catalogue Juynboll III", and in Brandes' "Beschrijving der Javaansche, Balineesche en Sasaksche Handschriften, aange-troffen in de nalatenschap van Dr H. N.

"van der Tuuk" 1901-1926 (see 50008). Registering those texts as Javanese instead of Balinese or Sundanese is in accordance with the precedence given to the cultural aspect of the study of literature over the linguistical in the present book.

Ad 3 (cf. 00020, era *C*). After the disintegration of the kingdom of Majapahit and the rise of Islam an Islamic Javanese literature developed in East Java, mainly in the trading centres on the North Coast, Gr̃esik and Surabaya. It was also cultivated at the Courts of Madurese rulers, and it spread in the North Coast districts eastwards and westwards. Probably the idiom of the oldest Islamic East Javanese texts corresponds more or less with the Javanese spoken and written in religious middle-class communities of the districts along the lower course of the rivers Brantas and B̃erawan. The oldest Islamic texts from East Java show similarities in idiom with some Old Javanese texts, not belonging to Court literature, written in the pre-Islamic period.

Islamic East Javanese literature endured after the fall of the local dynasties of Surabaya and Gr̃esik and the conquest of the country by the forces of the Central Javanese Kings of Mataram, in the seventeenth century. The influence of East Java on the development of Central and West Pasisir literature, and, later, on the literature of the Central Javanese Courts of Kartasura and Surakarta, was great. Probably the literary idioms of all later centres of Javanese culture owe much to the early Muslim East Javanese authors.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the period of expansion of Islamic Javanese culture. In the centre and the

western parts of the island, on the North Coast, maritime kingdoms were established, and at the Courts Islamic Javanese literature flourished. For a short time Kings of Dĕmak, in Central Java, were recognized as suzerains by most Muslim dynasts of towns along the North Coast and in the interior of the country. In the present Synopsis the literature of this period is named after the Pasisir, the Coast districts.

Between East Javanese Islamic literature and East Pasisir literature scarcely any distinction is to be made. Some texts which evidently were written in the interior of the country, e.g. in the Tĕngĕr highlands, are better called East Javanese than East Pasisir, though. The Central Pasisir literature was written by authors connected with the centre of the Dĕmak kingdom, even after its disintegration. Their literary idiom seems to have developed on the pattern of older East Javanese works. In its turn Central Pasisir literature exercised a powerful influence on the authors who in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries worked at the Courts of the Central Javanese Kings of Mataram, in the interior of the country.

Ad 4 (cf. 00020, era *C*). The West Pasisir literature was written mainly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Cĕrbon, the Sundanese districts and Bantĕn, areas where Javanese letters had been introduced not long before. The idiom of West Pasisir literature sometimes betrays the authors' West Javanese and Sundanese background. In several cases the texts are not readily understood by Central Javanese readers.

Ad 5 (cf. 00020, era *D*). Since the seventeenth century, Kings of Mataram, in South

Central Java, held sway over many outlying districts. At their Courts literary activity, beginning in the seventeenth century, produced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a renaissance of classical Old Javanese letters. Many products of earlier periods of Javanese literature were re-edited in modern Javanese versions. Especially Surakarta authors made great names for themselves both by their adaptations of classical works and by their original narrative and historical books. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the literary idiom of the Surakarta authors gained recognition from all cultered people in the country as the standard of written Javanese. In modern Government schools textbooks written in the Surakarta idiom were the rule. In consequence of the attention paid to Surakarta and its renaissance classical literature the older idioms and books written in East Java and the Pasisir districts fell into the background. Very few printed Javanese books, except the editions of Old Javanese texts, contain prose or poetry written in another idiom than the Surakarta standard language. From the contents of the present Synopsis it will be apparent that Javanese literature is by far richer than one would suppose judging from the supply of printed books.

In the nineteenth century at the Court of Yogyakarta a literary idiom comparable with the more generally accepted Surakarta type was developed. Though manuscripts containing texts in the Yogyakarta idiom are in evidence, they were seldom published. The differences between the idioms are largely a matter of predilection for certain expressions.

00035 Javanese Manners of Speech.

Using different words in conversation according to the society one finds oneself in, the person addressed and the person spoken about, is a matter of course in communities having reached a certain degree of refinement in social intercourse. In Javanese the differentiation of idiomatical forms and expressions used in various circumstances by one speaker is a striking feature of the language. Social status, degrees of kinship and differences of age are the criteria by which the appropriate idiom is chosen. The differences between the idioms, so-called manners of speech (Dutch: "taal-soorten") consist on the one hand in using synonymous words, on the other in modifying endings or whole syllables of existing words in order to make new ones. This faculty of modification is peculiar to Javanese. The principal idioms are called *ꦤꦺꦴꦏꦺ* (low, using the pronoun *ko*, *kowé* for "you") and *krama* (high).

It is difficult to ascertain when the use of manners of speech in Javanese began. Probably the fourteenth and fifteenth century Court of Majapahit was a fertile soil

for the cultivation of refined speech. Perhaps still in the Majapahit period the custom began to spread. In Bali, Madura and the Sundanese districts of West Java manners of speech are in use, but the refined words and expressions are not always the same as in Java proper. The cultural influence exercised on those countries by Java since the Majapahit period is well-known.

No doubt the origin of the manners of speech in Javanese lies in a remote past, but it took a long time for the custom to be accepted everywhere in the countryside. Probably the spread of the Court literature of Surakarta in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was instrumental in systematizing and unifying the use of Javanese manners of speech all over the country.

The existence of the manners of speech in Javanese is a serious inconvenience for foreigners studying the language. In the last decades of the nineteenth century in Dutch textbooks special attention was given to the correct use of the manners of speech (see Uhlenbeck, "The Languages of Java and "Madura", 1964, p. 57).

00040 Forms of Literature, Prose and Rhythmic Prose.

In most genres of Javanese literature (see 00010, Parts I, II, III and IV) poetical texts outnumber those in prose. Only among the scientific and scholarly texts registered in Part Four of the present Synopsis a considerable number of prose texts is found. Belletristic literature is almost exclusively in verse, except wayang performers' manuals

(*pakĕms*) and modern novellistic tales which were written in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries under Dutch influence.

Preponderance of poetic style over prose seems to be a common phenomenon in the early stages of literature of many peoples. In Java writing in verse was exceedingly stimulated by the Indian preference for poeti-

cal expression. The great Old Javanese epic poems of Indian inspiration exercised a lasting influence on the development of Belles-Lettres up to the nineteenth century. The Indian custom of writing lengthy historical, encyclopedic and didactic texts in verse survived in a modified form for a very long time in Java.

It is a remarkable fact that in Javanese literature the Arabic prose style of Islamic religious texts, called *kitab*s, did not stimulate writing in prose. A great number of Javanese Islamic religious books is in verse. This predilection for poetic style even with respect to Muslim texts is symptomatic for the self-reliance of Javanese authors. Proud of their ancient cultural heritage they succeeded in maintaining an independent position against domineering Islam and the Arabic religious prose tradition. In Malay, however, prose is preponderant over verse. This fact is symptomatic for the general acceptance of Islam as a determinant factor of culture by Malay authors. Malay owes its expansion in the Archipelago and its modern dominating position (in the garb of Bahasa Indonesia) to its usefulness as a medium of interinsular commerce and propaganda of Islam in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Many differences between Javanese and Malay literature can be explained by the different attitudes of representative Javanese and Malay authors towards Islam in the past four hundred years.

In the beginning of written Old Javanese literature some important prose texts made their appearance, however: the Old Javanese charters, and texts on religion, mythology and history. They are registered in Parts One and Two of the present Synopsis.

Perhaps the fact that they are in prose can be explained. Originally the charters (see 20010) were records of social and religious ceremonies performed with a view to establish a new order in land tenure. They contained long lists of names. Probably the exigencies of Old Javanese prosody were prohibitive for the redaction of charter texts in verse.

As to the Old Javanese religious texts (see 10000), their prose might be a survival of the prose of the Javanese paraphrases of Sanskrit ślokas which formed the beginning of Old Javanese religious literature.

A similar explanation of the prose of the Old Javanese Mahābhārata Parwas and puranic texts might apply. Originally these books also contained Sanskrit quotations (see 20010). At present the fragmentary Sanskrit ślokas in the texts which have come down to us seem to have only the function of rubrics. The lengthy Old Javanese prose paragraphs contain far more than paraphrases of the Sanskrit words. In the present author's opinion the Parwas and the Purāṇas were meant to be recited rhythmically on festive occasions, and their prose originally was rhythmic prose. If pronounced according to present day Javanese practice the Old Javanese prose tales seem to be quite well suited to the purpose of being used as recitation texts.

Probably the authors of later puranic texts, compendiums of epic tales and Old Javanese prose histories (see 20.200 ff.) imitated the prose style of the Old Javanese Parwas.

Rhythmic prose meant for recitation is well-known in Javanese theatrical literature. A considerable part of the narratives of wayang plays is in rhythmic prose, recited

by the performer. Sometimes rhythm is combined with rhyme and alliteration, so as to form phrases, which may be of unequal length; sometimes the latter two features are absent. Anyhow the lofty style and even tones of the recitation, quite different from ordinary speech, are characteristic of Javan-

ese wayaṅ performances. It seems hazardous, however, to posit an interrelationship between Old Javanese prose versions of Maḥābhārata tales and relatively modern Javanese wayaṅ performances, merely on the ground of the rhythmic prose found in both groups of texts.

00050 Poetry ruled by Indian prosody.

The oldest Javanese belletristic work which has come down to us, the Rāmāyaṇa (see 30.000), is a long epic poem written in Indian *kāvya* metres. Since the eleventh century A.D. it has been followed by many other *kakawins*, registered in Part Three of the present Synopsis. In "The Languages of Java and Madura" (1964, p. 132) Uhlenbeck mentions as the very first Old Javanese *kakawin* a short poem, a charter text in verse (which is exceptional), dated 856 A.D. It has been deciphered by De Casparis.

The writing of Old Javanese epic and romantic poetry in *kāvya* style, complete with many stylistic embellishments, is the result of a very strong influence of Indian Court culture exercised in Java in the pre-Islamic period up to about 1300 A.D. After that time the intensity of Indian cultural influence seems to diminish gradually and native Javanese elements of culture come to the foreground. But still for many centuries poems written in Indian metres were appreciated as the highest form of belletristic literature. In Bali up to the end of the nineteenth century authors took a pride in their ability of writing Javanese-Balinese epic poems in Indian metres.

In fact Indian prosody, being founded on

the metric quantity of syllables, like classic Greek, Arabic and related prosodies, is not suited at all for the Javanese language, which does not make a distinction between long and short vowels in the manner of some languages of the Asian continent. The hypothesis of a former stage in the development of the language, when Javanese did make distinctions in metrical quantity, seems hardly tenable (see Uhlenbeck, "The Languages of Java and Madura", 1964, p. 132, on *kakawins*).

Nevertheless for several centuries Javanese authors were successful in applying rules of Indian prosody to their poems. The great number of Sanskrit words, mostly nouns, adjectives and past participles, incorporated in the Old Javanese poetical idiom, called *kawi*, facilitated the application of Indian prosodic rules, because the metric pattern of every Sanskrit word was given. Probably poets living in the flourishing period of Old Javanese *kakawin* literature, accustomed to the use of an extensive vocabulary of Sanskrit words, were hardly aware of any fundamental difference between their native language and the Indian words. The Sanskrit vocabulary used in Java (and probably in other outlying provinces of Greater India)

represented only a skeleton of the living language as written in India, though, as conjugation and declension were disregarded (see 46250).

Since the fifteenth or the sixteenth century the Javanese authors' knowledge of the rules of Indian prosody has been on the decline. More and more metrical quantity of syllables was neglected. As a result Indian metres were only distinguished one from another by the number of syllables in the lines. Meanwhile for a long time Javanese poets were aware of the existence of prosodic rules referring to metric quantity, though they no longer knew the minor details. In Javanese the expression *guru-lagu* (Sanskrit: guru-laghu: heavy and light, i.e. metrically long and short) means prosody in general.

Whereas during the following centuries Balinese poets continued writing *kakawins*, in Java the rise of Islam and the development of a modern Muslim Javanese literature were detrimental to the knowledge of Old Javanese letters. Nevertheless the tradition was never cut off completely. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at the Surakarta Court in Central Java a renaissance of classical Old Javanese *kakawin* literature made its appearance (see 30900). In Surakarta, which maintained relations (by way of the river Bĕḡawan) with the old North-East Coast centre of culture Grĕsik, manuscripts originally written by Pasisir scribes became available. Renaissance poets, admirers of Old Javanese *kakawins*, but unacquainted with the rules of Indian prosody, wrote modernized versions of the old epic poems, using Indian metres as far as known to them, with a complete disregard of metric quantity. This eighteenth century Central Javan-

ese offshoot of the Old Javanese poetical tradition and idiom was called *kawi miriṅ* "sloping poetical idiom", apparently because the authors were conscious of their deficiency in writing real *kawi*. The *kawi miriṅ* literature did not develop vigorously, and in the nineteenth century it fell into oblivion. Quite often in *kawi miriṅ* poems the metres have special names, different from the names of Sanskrit and Old Javanese metres having the same number of syllables in a line. Probably the *kawi miriṅ* names were inventions of nineteenth century Javanese scholars. The custom of mentioning the name of the metre, or alluding to it, in the beginning of a new canto, was often practised by authors of *kawi miriṅ* poems. In Old Javanese *kakawins* it occurs also, though not very frequently.

Stanzas of Old Javanese epics, especially the Bhārata Yuddha, were used as recitatives in wayaṅ performances. As such they are called *suluks* or *kawins* (see 30920). For a similar use, as texts for choral welcome songs (*pañĕmbrama*) etc., stanzas in a kind of *kawi miriṅ* were written in the late nineteenth century flourishing period of music at the Court of Prince Maṅku Nagara IV of Surakarta, who was a patron of Ranga Warsita, the last of the *pujangas* (see 31360).

Being in the first place poets, more than prosaists, Javanese authors always were interested in prosody. In the pre-Islamic period manuals of Indian prosody were made available in Old Javanese versions, and in the nineteenth century several treatises on the subject were written (see 46250). The renaissance scholars introduced the term *tĕmbaṅ gĕḡĕ*, great verse, for metres of the Indian type, in order to distinguish them

from metres of native Javanese origin, small verse, *tēmban cilik*, which will be discussed under the next heading. Partly the distinction great-small is a reflection of the learned scholars' admiration for Old Javanese literature, and their own inferiority complex. But then several Old Javanese metres, having more than twenty syllables in a line, used in stanzas of four lines, of course make a greater impression than native Javanese metres.

The most common Sanskrit metre, the

śloka, was almost never used in Old Javanese poetry. The Old Javanese metres were the Sanskrit *kāvya* metres used in stanzas of four lines. Perhaps the reluctance to write Old Javanese ślokas was a result of the close relationship of the śloka metre with Sanskrit religious literature, which precluded its use in laical literature and belletristic Javanese texts. In the Islamic period of Javanese letters the word śloka, in the corrupt form *saloka*, was used in the sense of ethical maxim.

00060 Poetic forms of indigenous Javanese origin, popular verse.

It seems probable that in olden times indigenous Javanese poetry had forms which were well suited to the structure of the language, as is the case with the literatures of other Indonesian peoples discovered by anthropologists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Even in the Old Javanese period there may have flourished in the countryside, side by side with the Court *kakawins* with metres ruled by a foreign, Indian prosody, a less sophisticated poetry in native metres. But then no records of poems other than *kakawins*, dating from the pre-Islamic time, have come down to us. Old Javanese literature was the exclusive property of privileged classes, the Court nobility, the clergy and the gentry, more so than the literature of the Islamic period. Evidently in olden times authors never took the trouble to write down poems or tales which were not closely connected with Indian religion and Court life.

Probably in some ancient East Javanese poems, versifications of myths (Calon Aray,

Sri Tañjun, see 30225), in Javanese-Balinese historical poems and ballads (see 20500 and 20700) and in some early Muslim religious didactic poems (see 14600), written in the sixteenth or the seventeenth century, metres of indigenous Javanese origin were used for the first time in written literature. Poerbataraka ("Kapustakan Djawi", 1952, p. 94) drew attention to an Islamic mystic song (Suluk Sukarsa) written in a very simple metre which according to him resembles the Indian śloka. It would perhaps be more correct to assume a connection with simple metres of Malay poetry and later popular religious poems.

As a matter of fact in poetic forms or metres of indigenous Javanese origin, there can be perceived a considerable variety, both historically and synchronically. All have in common, however, their foundation exclusively on the number of syllables in the lines, in contradistinction to poetry ruled by Indian prosody which, beside the number, observed the metric quantity of syllables. The *karwi*

mirin poetry, mentioned in the preceding paragraph (00050), by disregarding the metric quantity belied its origin and associated itself with the poetics of native Javanese origin.

Historically, among the various poetic forms of Javanese origin, the most important seem to be the most simple and archaic ones, preserved in popular poetry and children's ditties. The difference in form between these genres and regular Javanese poetry in so-called *macapat* or small metres lies in the freedom of increasing and diminishing the number of syllables in a line and the number of lines in a stanza, and also in the disregard of rhyme and alliteration, though the latter elements of poetry are seldom absent altogether. Perhaps several texts nowadays known as children's ditties are childish imitations or corrupt descendants of incantations, in olden times sung in shamanistic rites performed in religious ceremonies of pre-Hinduistic Javanese communities (see 43750).

Popular poetry resembling the well-known Malay *pantun* quatrains may have been current in the North-East Coast districts of Java for a considerable time. In Javanese the quatrains were called *parikans*. Literary charades or enigmas, in Javanese called *wangsals*, occupied an important place in popular poetry as well as in poems of a more sophisticated kind, even in religious mystic songs. Though the rather intricate structure of Javanese *wangsals* seems artificial and affected, there is reason to believe in the great age of this kind of riddles and to consider popular verse mainly founded on *wangsals* as belonging originally to an

early period of the history of Javanese culture (see 31380).

Popular poetry and children's ditties were not written down before the nineteenth century. Interested Dutch scholars prompted Javanese authors to collect them. The best collections have been made as late as the first half of the twentieth century, but even so the collected material is interesting and sufficient to show the variety of original Javanese poetical forms.

In the Islamic period of Javanese cultural history authors of religious didactic poetry sometimes used metres not conforming to the rules of *macapat* prosody which were generally accepted at the time. In some cases the metres show a similarity with stanzas or quatrains found in Malay religious poetry (see 16000). A considerable part of Javanese Muslim religious texts was written by authors who were well acquainted with Malay literature. In other cases popular religious poetry might continue an autochthonous tradition of simple octosyllabic-verse (cf. the above-mentioned *Suluk Suluk*).

Factually in several metres belonging to the accepted *macapat* prosody, octosyllabic lines are dominating elements, and some metres (*kinanti*, *juru dëmur*, and *giris*) consist wholly of lines of eight syllables. They differ only in the number of octosyllabic lines in a stanza (six or eight) and by the variation of the rhyme.

It is certain that in the Islamic period of Javanese literature and in Javanese-Balinese literature several prosodies existed side by side: the Old Javanese Indian metres (in Java still continued in *kawi mirin* poetry), popular Javanese (and popular Balinese)

verse, and *macapat* prosody (both in Java and in Bali). In the pre-Islamic period a similar synchronic situation may have prevailed, with the exception that at that time

macapat metres were not yet fully developed and differentiated by strict prosodic rules from the mass of indigenous popular Javanese verse.

00070 Javanese Macapat Prosody.

According to Javanese historical tradition of the Islamic period, among other elements of Javanese culture also the *macapat* metres were invented by the Walis, the sainted Apostles of Islam. Stripped of its legendary garb, this tradition intimates that *macapat* metres first were used in Javanese written literature in the beginning of the Islamic period. Perhaps there is some truth in this statement, with the reserve, though, that it only refers to Central Java, disregarding East Javanese and Javanese-Balinese literature. In those districts poems in native Javanese metres were written already in the pre-Islamic period (see the preceding paragraph).

The *macapat* metres, about fifteen in number, are to be considered as consolidated forms of verse belonging to the mass of indigenous popular Javanese poetry, which for a long time remained amorphous and uncultivated. Eighteenth and nineteenth century Javanese scholars called them small metres, *těmban cilik*, as distinguished from the great metres, the name reserved for verse ruled by Indian prosody (see 00050). Originally the name *těmban macapat* conveyed a similar idea, namely homely or home-made metres. *Macapat* and *mañcapat*, meaning "four fellows", are expressions referring to a group of closely-related units, located on

the corners of a square, in accordance with cosmic order. To the Javanese mind the word *mañcapat* suggests safety and the well-known order of the home district.

Though synchronic local and also historical variations in length and rhyme are in evidence, about fifteen *macapat* metres have a pretty well fixed prosody. The stanzas have from ten to four lines each and the lines have from twelve to three syllables. The rhymes of the final syllables of the lines are merely vowel rhymes, consonants being disregarded. For each line the vowel in the final syllable is prescribed. In some cases the vowel is not repeated in another final syllable of the stanza, so the idea of a common rhyme of two or more lines is rather vague (see 46250).

Orinally poetry in *macapat* metres was meant to be sung, and each metre still has its own tune or melody, or in some cases several possible tunes. In old-fashioned country communities not affected by modern hurry, singing *macapat* stanzas and listening to the singing were favourite pastimes of an evening up to recent times. Mostly the stanzas were sung without instrumental accompaniment. According to Dutch experts on music (Brandts Buys, Kunst), the tone of *macapat* tunes, if not influenced by modern scholastic training, dif-

ferred slightly from the scales of the great instrumental ensembles called *sléndro* and *pélog* (see 42500). The tunes of *macapat* singing may be very old. It seems possible that the scales of old-fashioned *macapat* singing and children's ditties were inter-related.

Macapat metres have their own Javanese names; several metres are even known under more than one name. Unlike the Sanskrit names of Indian metres, and *kawi mirin* metres (see 00030), the original meanings of the words are either unknown or their connections with prosody are not clear. As neither Dutch nor Javanese authors paid much attention to the subject it seems appropriate to insert a note on the probable origin of some *macapat* metres in the present paragraph.

Some names of *macapat* metres refer to ancient relations with some poet or some poem, instrumental in making the metre known to the public. *Ḍaṇḍaṅ Gula*, the name of one of the most used *macapat* metres, is a synonym of *Ḍaṇḍaṅ Gēṇḍis*, the name of an ill-fated early thirteenth century King of Kaḍiri who was a scholar (see the present author's "Java in the XIVth Century", vol. IV p. 122).

Another group of *macapat* metre names reminds one of titles of social and religious officials performing functions in pre-Islamic Javanese society. The officials are mentioned in Javanese literature. The metres and tunes may be descendants of incantations or songs, originally belonging to the ritual of ceremonies, in olden times celebrated by the said officers as officiants.

Paṅkur, the name of a well-known *macapat* metre, is also the name of a group of

religious officials mentioned in some Old Javanese charters (see "Java in the XIVth Century", vol. IV, p. 406).

The name *Mas Kumambaṅ* might be connected with *përmas*, an officiant in some shamanistic rites in Balinese popular religion. *Kumambaṅ*, floating, seems to indicate a characteristic feature of a shaman's psychic experience.

Gambuh, the name of another *macapat* metre, means experienced, expert. The word is used i.a. in connection with certain dances which occupied an important place in ancient Javanese communal festivals (see the present author's "Javaanse Volksvertoningen", 1938, p. 457).

Sinom, the name of a fifth *macapat* metre, might be connected with *sinoman*, the traditional Javanese juvenile service of boys who assist the host at community meals. The word *nom*, young, is discernible in *sinoman* (see "Javaanse Volksvertoningen", register, sub voce). The *sinom* metre and tune might contain reminiscences of the appearance and activities of the traditional juvenile service groups in communal festivities.

Juru dëmunṅ ("master dëmunṅ") is the name of a metre belonging to the so-called *tëṇahan group* (see 00060). *Dëmunṅ* or *dëmaṅ* is an old word, indicating a rather important managerial function. In Old Javanese literature *dëmunṅ*s are mentioned at the Royal Courts. It is quite possible, though, that in the pre-Islamic period officials called *dëmunṅ*s or *dëmaṅ*s were found also in the country-side. In some western districts of Java *dëmaṅ* was used as a title of an administrative officer of medium rank. Perhaps, as in the case of *paṅkur*, *mas kumambaṅ* and *sinom*, the (*juru*) *dëmunṅ* metres and

tunes have connections with songs in former times belonging to *dēmons* of referring to them.

The name of the rather popular macapat metre *asmarandana* or *asmara dana* reminds one of *Smara Dahana*, a well-known twelfth century Old Javanese *kakawin* of Kaḍiri origin (see 30.050). The connection between the metre and the Court poem in Indian metres is not clear. *Asmarandana* is remarkable for being the only *macapat* metre with a Sanskrit name. It seems possible that sometimes a metre has been called after one word or several words occurring in the beginning of a stanza which used to be memorized as an example of the composition of that metre.

Macapat metres did not appear all at the same time in the last centuries of pre-Islamic literature in East Java and in the Muslim period. In the beginning poets did not use more than one or a very restricted number of metres in one book; two, three, four or five, and those metres were often repeated. *Paṅkur* seems to have been a favourite in the beginning of *macapat* poetry.

In the period of the renaissance of Javanese letters in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, *macapat* metres were studied and polished. Whereas formerly and in outlying districts the number of syllables in the lines and the vowels in the final syllables were subject to variation, strict rules were enforced in the Surakarta Court literature. The place of the caesura in long lines was fixed and in many cases poetical embellishments in the form of various kinds of alliteration (*purwa kaṇṭi*) were applied. In the nineteenth century some poets used to indicate their own names by using the letters of

the names as initial syllables of the first stanzas of their poems (acrostics). In poems consisting of cantos in different metres it became customary to indicate the name of the metre of the next canto by means of an enigmatic expression of the *wanṣalan* (charade) kind, inserted in the last line of the preceding canto. The *wanṣalan* was a clue for the singer how to start the new canto. For instance *mundur* (backwards) was used as a clue indicating the metre *paṅkur*, because *mundur* suggests *munḱur* (turn one's back), and *munḱur* suggests *paṅkur*.

The number of about fifteen *macapat* metres was fixed by eighteenth and nineteenth century Surakarta Court scholars. In some poems the poets did their utmost to apply all available metres, but as a rule the number of ten was seldom reached. The *ḍanḍan gula* metre was a favourite with eighteenth and nineteenth century Central Javanese poets. A theory of the different characters of the metres was developed, and poets were expected to choose metres in accordance with the character of their subject: heroic, romantic, amorous, speculative etc. It is dubious whether in olden times *macapat* metres had special characters. Their probable origin from ancient sacral songs clashes with modern psychological characterization. The characters of the *macapat* metres seem to be refinements introduced by Court poets.

Beside the fifteen *macapat* metres accepted by eighteenth and nineteenth century Central Javanese poets, in poems written in West Java, in East Java and in Bali, more metres of the same structure are found. At the Cērbon Court in West Java the writing of

mystic songs, *suluks*, was en vogue in the eighteenth century. Sometimes the poets used *macapat* metres which in Central Java were unknown or unusual (see 14.900). In ancient East Javanese poems and in Javanese-Balinese poems dealing with myths and exorcist tales (Suda Mala, Sri Tanjuṅ etc. see 30.035), varieties of *macapat* metres equally unknown to eighteenth and nineteenth century Central Javanese authors are used. As a matter of fact, the structure of *macapat* verse makes it possible to increase the number of metres infinitely, by adding extra lines to well-known stanzas and by changing the number of syllables in the lines. Perhaps in the course of times some Javanese authors did employ this method to introduce new metres.

In the nineteenth century Central Javanese scholars used to call metres of the *macapat* type, not belonging to the group of fifteen accepted ones, *tēmbanṅ tēṅahan*, middle metres, because of their supposed intermediate position between the *tēmbanṅ gēḍé* (the great metres of Indian origin) and the *tēmbanṅ cilik* (the small metres of their own time). Historically this differentiation is unjustified. There seems to be no valid reason to doubt the antiquity of all metres of the *macapat* type indiscriminately. Only the appearance of so-called *tēṅahan* metres in ancient and difficult texts led nineteenth century Javanese scholars to give them an intermediate position directly following the Old Javanese poetical literature ruled by Indian prosody.

In Bali, probably in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a courtly form of *macapat* poetry was developed. Balinese scholars of the nineteenth century called it also *tēm-*

banṅ tēṅahan, middle verse, for the same reason, namely unfamiliarity with the genre and belief in its antiquity, which had led Javanese scholars to give that name to unusual *macapat* metres. In Javanese-Balinese Court literature *tēṅahan* poetry is characterized by a regular alternation of stanzas in different metres throughout the poem, apparently for variety's sake. As a rule all *macapat* poetry was meant to be sung. Perhaps in the case of Javanese-Balinese *tēṅahan* verse the poets gave special attention to music and singing. It seems possible that originally stanzas of the poems written in different metres were meant to be sung by different singers by turns (see 46.250).

Javanese-Balinese musical *tēṅahan* poetry developed several varieties at the seventeenth and eighteenth century Balinese Courts. *Kaḍiri* and *dēmunṅ* seem to belong to a relatively old period. The twelfth and thirteenth century East Javanese *Kaḍiri* Court was a centre of literary activity. Many *kakawins* were written at the time (see 30.030). The connection between the ancient *Kaḍiri* Court and the (perhaps) seventeenth century Javanese-Balinese *tēṅahan* variety of *macapat* verse is as yet unknown.

For a time *tēṅahan* poetry was flourishing in Bali, but it did not supersede common *macapat* verse and apparently it did not last. The Tantri fables, adaptations of Indian Pañcatantra tales (see 30.290) and the *Malat Kuṅ* and related Pañji romances (see 30.360) are partly in Javanese-Balinese *tēṅahan* metres. In Javanese-Balinese literature and in poems written in the Balinese vernacular, the *tēṅahan* variety of *macapat* verse is something of a curiosity. It is still insufficiently studied.

No marks of any influence on Javanese poetics exercised by either Arabic religious poetry or Dutch verse are found in the literature of the Islamic period. Apparently the distance separating the languages was too great.

Experiments in modern poetry, comparable with middle twentieth century modern Bahasa Indonesia verse, are beyond the scope of the present Synopsis.

00080 Javanese-Indian Script.

There is no clear evidence of the existence of any kind of indigenous script invented in Java before the introduction of Indian script.

Before the time of the first Old Javanese charters of Central Java, of the ninth century, Sanskrit inscriptions on stone slabs written in different kinds of Indian script were made in various districts of the Archipelago. In Central Java a South Indian script was adapted to the writing of Old Javanese texts (See Gonda "Sanskrit in Indonesia", 1952). It was found necessary to add only two letters or marks: for *ṛ* and for the *ṣṛ* vowel (ṣ). In many cases use of the mark for the *ṣṛ* vowel between consonants was avoided by writing the consonants as a cluster, a ligature.

During the ten centuries of its use in Java and Bali, the Indian script changed a great deal. Many varieties appeared, some remaining in use for a considerable time, some disappearing very soon. Both the pre-Islamic and the Islamic period of Javanese culture produced varieties of script. The pre-Islamic ones appear in inscriptions on stone and copperplates, and in a small number of old manuscripts which have been preserved in Java. Palaeographic study of the types of old script was helpful in determining the age of some archeological finds.

The varieties of Javanese script in the Islamic period have not been examined so carefully as the older script. They are found in Javanese manuscripts written on palm-leaf or on paper in various districts of Java. In combination with particularities of idiom and spelling, study of the script of a manuscript can be helpful in determining the origin of the text it contains. As a rule it is not difficult to make a distinction between East Javanese Pasisir script (from Gr̥esik, Surabaya and Madura) and West Pasisir script (from C̥erbon). Sometimes in West Javanese manuscripts peculiarities of Sundanese script are borrowed, e.g. writing the vowel *o* not with two marks, placed before and after the *akṣara* (in Javanese called *talṅ-tarun*) but with one mark only, put after the *akṣara*. Even the Surakarta and the Yogyakarta styles of writing are distinct. In some local varieties perpendicular and cursive styles of writing existed side by side. At the Surakarta and Yogyakarta Courts special Court styles of perpendicular writing were cultivated (see the facsimiles in vol. Three).

In the Islamic period occasionally scribes writing in Javanese script marked foreign, mostly Arabic, words by putting three dots in a triangle above the letters which were to be pronounced in the foreign way. E.g. the

Arabic *z* was written as *j* marked with three dots. Sometimes Dutch words also were marked in this way. Words of Sanskrit origin were never treated in the same way, apparently because in the Islamic period the Sanskrit and Old Javanese vocabularies were amalgamated and reduced to one denominator: *kawi*.

In the nineteenth century the first Javanese printing types were made at the order of European scholars. The first books of any consequence to be printed were Bible translations (see Uhlenbeck, "The Languages of 'Java and Madura'", 1964, p. 53). The varieties of Javanese script which were chosen as models for the casting of printing types, a cursive and a perpendicular variety, were of Surakarta origin. Especially the Surakarta Court style, so-called *Kraton* script, was a favourite with the designers of Javanese printing types in The Netherlands.

Gradually in the nineteenth century Javanese printed books and papers spread all over the country. Probably the spread of the Surakarta script in print, together with the Surakarta literary idiom, resulted in their dominant position since the middle of the nineteenth century. Both local types of script and literature in local dialects of the Pasisir districts were superseded.

In Bali an East Javanese perpendicular variety of Javanese script has been in general use since the ascendancy of Majapahit power in the island. It did not change perceptibly during the past three centuries.

In Lombok the script used by native scribes was a variety of Balinese script, often written rather cramped and crabbed. In writing their native language, the Lombok Sasaks used some well-known characters of Balinese script in a special way, in order to indicate linguistic peculiarities.

00090 Arabic Script.

In all countries where Islam became a dominant element of civilization, the Arabic script was introduced by the teachers of religion, because it is almost impossible to write Arabic texts otherwise than with Arabic script. Certainly, writing the holy Kur'ān text with other than Arabic characters would seem preposterous to all true believers. In consequence in several countries on their conversion to Islam the old script which was in use before was superseded by the Arabic script, also for writing the native non-Arabic language. In fact Arabic script is not well suited for writing any language other

than Arabic or languages closely related to it, but this drawback was disregarded by the new converts to Islam.

In the Archipelago the interinsular medium of commerce, Malay, became the vehicle of Muslim propaganda. Since the sixteenth century, Malay has been written with Arabic script for all practical purposes. Even Malay Bible translations were printed with Arabic characters in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In order to adapt the Arabic script to the peculiarities of the Malay language several new letters were made by adding diacritical dots to existing ones. Even

so Malay texts written in the Arabic script were never easy to read, the more so because the Arabic custom of desisting from the use of vowel marks was followed by Malay scribes.

In the fifteenth century the Javanese Indian script was already current for many centuries, and it was well adapted to the native language. Moreover in Java the conversion to Islam was accomplished gradually, at first in the trading towns and the maritime districts on the North Coast. No foreign force from outside the island was operative or decisive in winning the victory for Islam. The faith was introduced by relatively peaceful middle-class traders, from the beginning conversant with the Malay and Javanese languages.

In Java just as in other newly converted countries the Arabic script (by the intermediary of the Malay language) was introduced at an early time. But then it is remarkable that some of the oldest, still sixteenth century, Islamic Javanese manuscripts were written in Javanese script. Perhaps this fact is to be explained by the prestige of Javanese scholarship, a heritage of centuries old pre-Islamic Javanese culture, which in the beginning still outshone the glamour of the new Malay Arabic script, though the latter bore the genuine stamp of Islam. An additional reason for sixteenth century Javanese Muslims to write in the old Javanese Indian script was the peculiar property of the writing-material, palmleaves, for centuries in use in Java. On account of the rough fibrous surface it is difficult to make many dots and short lines on a palm-leaf. The fibrousness enforces writing in straight parallel lines, whereas the current

Arabic script consists mainly of short sloping lines. It is a fact that the introduction of the Arabic script and paper as a writing material coincided in Java and elsewhere in the Archipelago (see 00130). Javanese palmleaf manuscripts with Arabic script are practically non-existent.

Writing Javanese texts in Arabic characters required making some new letters by adding diacritical dots to existing ones in order to have representations for all Javanese phonemes, at least not very much inferior to the old Javanese-Indian script. On account of the Javanese vocalism, which is richer than Malay vocalism, it was necessary to apply the existing vowel marks throughout the texts in order to prevent equivocality. Often the vowel marks were put in the writing after the completion of some lines, or a page, or even a whole text. Of course this custom led to the making of mistakes. Javanese texts written in Arabic script are called *pégon* texts, a term which suggests wryness, obliquity. Probably this name was given on account of the short sloping lines of the current Arabic writing, as compared with the straight parallel lines of the Javanese Indian script (see the facsimiles in volume Three).

Pégon script became popular in Java in Muslim religious communities spread all over the country, where Malay and Arabic texts were studied. In several cases Javanese texts written in *pégon* script were left unvocalized, partly or entirely without vowel marks. This variety of *pégon* script was called *gunḍil*, hairless. Of course, *gunḍil* texts are difficult to read for persons unfamiliar with the idiom of the Muslim religious communities where *gunḍil* script

was in common use. This was in particular the case in Bantěn, West Java, where Islam, Malay and Arabic literature occupied most important places in local culture.

Nowhere in Java, not even in Bantěn, the Javanese-Indian script was completely superseded by Arabic writing. Locally the latter became very popular so as to be used even in manuscripts containing wayan plays and epic texts of Indian inspiration. But generally a division was made between Islamic religious literature which might be written in *pégon* or *gunḍil* script and secular texts of all kinds which as a rule were written in the Javanese-Indian script.

In Javanese civilization a dichotomy, a classification starting from a division of all entities in two groups, right and left etc., is very much in evidence. In mythologic and historical speculation on the descent of Javanese Kings the dichotomy makes a division between a Muslim line, including the Prophet and the Saints, and an Indian heroic line, including the Pāṇḍawas and ancient Javanese Royalty. Evidently the division between literature to be written in *pégon* and texts in Javanese-Indian script runs along the same line. Probably in Java the subsistence of two kinds of script side by side during at least four centuries was a

result of the fundamental dichotomic tendency of Javanese civilization.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries some Islamic religious Javanese texts in *pégon* and *gunḍil* script were printed by means of lithography. They were circulated — but not widely — by local publishers belonging to the circles of pious middle-class Muslims. Printing types for *pégon* script were also made available, but the number of printed books is small.

In the nineteenth century the Surakarta renaissance of classical letters brought the Javanese-Indian script very much to the foreground all over Java. The use of *pégon* script, even for Islamic religious ends, declined. The twentieth century saw the rise and flourishing of modernistic Islam, in Java represented by the Muhammadiyah society. In religious publications emanating from this group, beside *pégon* script also Javanese-Indian script was used, in order to reach a greater public which had lost contact with the old forms of Islamic religiosity and Arabic textbooks. Finally Muhammadiyah even published religious tracts in Latin script, because the primary schools, established all over the country, turned out a great multitude of readers of low-priced romanized books.

00100 Latin Script, Transcription Systems.

As a rule, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Dutch authors who had occasion to write texts in Javanese used the Javanese-Indian script. Perhaps the idea of transcribing texts in Latin script seemed preposterous to them, because at the time

language and script were considered closely related entities.

In older Dutch literature and in the Dutch-Indian idiom renderings of Javanese names and words were imperfect and often corrupt, so as to make a Dutch Hobson-Jobson

(Dictionary of Anglo-Indian words) desirable. The letter *o* was used indiscriminately as a rendering of Javanese *o* and Javanese *a* in cases where the *a* was pronounced as *â* in Central and East Java. Javanese *j* and *c*, in Dutch texts rendered by *dj* and *tj*, were often mistakenly interchanged, and the frequently occurring Javanese termination in *-an* was written and pronounced *-ang* (*-an*).

In the nineteenth century Dutch scholars introduced the custom of transcribing Javanese texts in the Latin script. In the present book the term romanizing is used for this process. In the course of their studies of Old Javanese literature they developed a simple system of writing the language in the Latin script, in several cases deviating from Dutch-Indian popular usage. Nevertheless the system was typically Dutch, using *oe*, *dj*, *tj*, *nj*, *j* and *ng* for *u*, *j*, *c*, *ñ*, *y* and *ṇ*. Diacritical dots were placed under the letters *q̣* and *ṭ* in order to distinguish them from *d* and *t*.

In the twentieth century the use of the Latin script was strongly propagated by "Volkslectuur", a Dutch Government institute for the spreading of low-priced popular literature in indigenous languages. The difference in price between books printed in the Latin script and in the cumbrous Javanese characters was decisive for the choice. The same argument led to the introduction of primers and readers for the schools printed in the Latin script. The number of books printed in the Javanese script was steadily decreasing even before world-war II.

In the present book a transcription borrowed from the well-known Sanskrit transliteration system is applied in order to have a uniform spelling of Javanese words and names of whatever origin and period through-

out the three volumes (see 00145). In consequence in the present book some names are spelled differently from common Dutch pre-war usage. The difference refers mostly to the use of *c*, *j*, *ṇ*, *ñ*, *u* and *y* instead of *tj*, *dj*, *ng*, *nj*, *oe* and *j*. Except *oe*, the latter clusters of letters (and *j* = *y*), borrowed from the Dutch spelling, have remained in use in Java in the post-world war II period.

Arabic words are transcribed according to the well-known system. As a rule Arabic words and names are given in the forms which they have in Javanese, though.

The following list contains the letters and marks used in the present book to transliterate Javanese, Sanskrit and Arabic words.

- a: in Jav. (sometimes): *â* (*ârâ*); in Skrt (sometimes) *ā* (*kāla*); in Arab. (sometimes): *ā* (*Ḳur'ān*).
- b: in Skrt (sometimes): *bh* (*bhaya*).
- c: in the common Javanese spelling, *tj* is in use instead of *c* (*cilik*: *tjilik*); in Skrt (sometimes): *ch* (*chāya*); formerly (sometimes): *ç* (now *ś*: *çloka*: *śloka*).
- d: in Jav. (sometimes): *ḍ* (*ḍuḍa*); in Skrt (sometimes): *dh* (*dharma*); (sometimes): *ḍ* (*ḍaṇḍa*); (sometimes): *ḍh* (*āḍhya*); in Arab. (sometimes): *ḍ* (*farḍ*, Javanese: *pěrlu*); (sometimes): *dh* (*dhikr*, Javanese: *dikir*); in the common Javanese spelling, *dj* is in use for *j* (*adji*: *aji*).
- e: in Jav. either *é* (*énak*), or *è* (*bètèt*), or *ě* (*pěpět*).
- f: only in Arabic.
- g: in Skrt (sometimes): *gh* (*ghora*); in Arab. (sometimes): *ḡ* (*ḡāḡḡ*, Javanese: *haji*); (sometimes): *gh* (*bāligh*, Javanese: *balèg*).
- h: in Skrt (sometimes): *ḥ* (*niḥsūnya*); in

- Arab. (sometimes): ḥ (ḥarām, Javanese: karam).
- i: in Skrt (sometimes): ī (wīra); in Arab. (sometimes): ī (ṭarīḳa).
- j: in the common Javanese spelling in use for y (Soerabaja: Surabaya), whereas dj is in use for j (adji: aji); in Skrt (sometimes): jh (jhallā).
- k: in Skrt (sometimes): kh (khaḍga); in Arab. (sometimes): k (also written: q: Qurʾān, Qurʾān, fiqh); (sometimes): kh: (khamīs, Javanese: kēmis).
- l: no comment.
- m: in Skrt (sometimes): ṁ (saṁsāra: saṁsara).
- n: in Jav. (sometimes): ṇ (raṇḍa); (sometimes): ñ (which in common Javanese spelling is written nj: bañu: banjoe); (sometimes): ṇ (which in common Javanese spelling is written ng: woṇ: wong); in Skrt (sometimes): ṇ (raṇa); (sometimes): ñ (jñāna); (sometimes): ṇ (raṅga).
- o: in the common Dutch-Javanese spelling, oe is in use for u (Soerabaja: Surabaya).
- p: in Skrt (sometimes): ph (phala).
- q: in Arab. sometimes used for k (Qurʾān, fiqh).
- r: in Skrt (sometimes): ṛ (kṛta, Kṛṣṇa, Javanese: kërta, Krēsna).
- s: in Skrt (sometimes): ṣ (duṣṭa); (sometimes): ś (formerly written ç: śloka, çloka); in Arab. (sometimes): ṣ (ṣalāt); (sometimes): š (šahāda, Javanese: sahadat, sadat).
- t: in Jav. (sometimes): ṭ (ṭaṭit); in Skrt (sometimes): th (tīrtha); (sometimes): ṭ (kuṭa); (sometimes): ṭh (kaṇṭha); in Arab. (sometimes): th (thalāthā, Javanese: sēlasa); (sometimes): ṭ (bāṭin); in the common Javanese spelling, tj is in use for c (tjilik: cilik).
- u: in Skrt (sometimes): ū (bhūta); in Arab. (sometimes): ū (sūra); in the common Dutch-Javanese spelling, oe is in use for u (Soerabaja: Surabaya).
- v: in Skrt, in the present book, instead of v, always w is used, in conformity with the Javanese spelling (veda: wéda; Viṣṇu: Wiṣṇu).
- w: in Skrt, instead of v (wéda: veda).
- y: in the common Javanese spelling, instead of y, always j is used (Surabaya: Soerabaja).
- z: only in Arab. (zakāt, Javanese: jakat); (sometimes): z (zāhir, Javanese: lahir).
- °: only in Arab. (šīr, Javanese: siṅir).
- ': only in Arab. (Qurʾān).
- ṛ: in the common Javanese spelling, instead of ṛ, always ng is used (woṇ: wong; aṅgit: anggit).

00110 Orthography.

On the whole in the pre-Islamic period the spelling of Old Javanese words and names followed the rules of Sanskrit orthography. Regularly the clusters of letters *ñc*, *ñj* and *ṇḍ*, *ṇṭ* were written both in borrowed Sanskrit words and in original Javanese

words. Apparently in Javanese words the clusters *ṅg*, *ṅk* (two *akṣaras*) and *ṅg*, *ṅk* (Javanese *cĕcak*, i.e. Sanskrit *anuswāra*, and *akṣaras*) were used rather indiscriminately. Sandhi rules referring to clusters of vowels (a-i : e, a-u : o) were properly applied, even

with reference to words of indubitable Javanese origin.

For a considerable time in the pre-Islamic period borrowed Sanskrit words were written correctly according to Sanskrit orthography, with the marks for short and long vowels in their respective places. Sanskrit *ś* with the cluster *śr*, *ṣ* with the cluster *ṣṭ* and *s* were duly distinguished in writing. Sometimes the long vowels and the clusters were written in the Sanskrit manner even in words of Javanese origin. It is improbable, however, that even in the pre-Islamic period the Javanese pronounced the borrowed Sanskrit words according to their original orthography. In speaking, differences between long and short vowels, *ś*, *ṣ* and *s* were disregarded. In the Islamic period borrowed Sanskrit words were written approximately in the manner they were spoken, and superfluities of the ancient orthography disappeared.

In Bali authors of Javanese-Balinese texts continued to follow the rules of Sanskrit orthography as best they could. As in their native language *d* and *ḍ*, *t* and *ṭ* were not distinguished, they experienced great difficulties in writing the adopted Javanese-Balinese literary idiom correctly. As a rule, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, in writing Javanese-Balinese texts of Balinese origin, and purely Balinese texts, Balinese scribes have felt absolved from the obligation of strictly following the rules of Sanskrit orthography.

In the Islamic period in Java disregard of ancient orthography became apparent in the approximately phonetic spelling of borrowed Sanskrit words and the peculiar use made of superfluous Sanskrit letters (*kh*, *gh*,

ṇ, *th*, *ph*, *bh*, *ś*, *ṣ*) which no longer were necessary for writing common words. They were used as capitals to indicate names, especially of respected persons. In those names every letter which had a capital form beside the form in common use was written as capital, not only the initial one. In accordance with the honorific value given to the superfluous letters they were called *akṣara gēḍé*: great, important letters. This peculiar usage is an indication of the distance separating Javanese scholars of the Islamic period from the inventors of the Indian script of old.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Central and East Javanese scholars developed a system of orthography which was characterized i.a. by duplication of the letter *n* between vowels, and by writing *o* (*talintarun*) in many cases where original *a* was pronounced *ā*. As a result the difference between modern Javanese and Old Javanese orthography became considerable, and the troubles of nineteenth century Javanese scholars in their attempts to understand old texts increased.

Right in the beginning of the Islamic period of Javanese civilization a considerable number of Arabic words, mostly referring to Islam, were borrowed. Probably in many cases Malay and the Javanese-Malay idiom of mercantile religious communities in the North Coast districts were intermediaries. Several Arabic words were incorporated in the Javanese vocabulary at an early time (e.g. *mriṭat*, a "krama" word for eye, from Arabic *maʿrifat*, supreme mystic knowledge) and they were written approximately phonetically in the Javanese script. In the Arabic script (*pégon*) the original Arabic spelling subsisted for a time. Prob-

ably the pronunciation of Arabic words was adapted to Javanese phonetics at an early time.

Javanese scribes when writing Arabic script (*pégon*) followed the example of Javanese-Indian orthography as best they could. Writing clusters of consonants, especially clusters of three (*ṅkr*, *mbr* etc.) in Arabic script proved difficult. Sometimes a *pěpět* vowel was intercalated (*ṅkěr*, *mběr* etc.). In poetry this expedient, giving the word an extra syllable, disturbed the metre, which required a fixed number of syllables in a verse.

In the twentieth century the orthography

of Javanese, both in the Javanese-Indian and the Latin script, was regulated by the Dutch Government Department of Education. In the Javanese spelling some obvious simplifications were introduced, and the Latin spelling was normalized according to the transcription system developed by Dutch scholars (see 00100). After the second world-war the Latin spelling, henceforth the most important one, was simplified by substituting *u* for *oe*. The writing of *q* and *t*, as distinguished from *d* and *ṭ*, seems to fall into disuse, because for most Javanese the correct pronunciation is clear even without diacritical dots.

00120 Chronology.

In the earliest Old Javanese texts, being Royal charters, chronology occupied an important place. In the beginning the date of issue of the charter was indicated by means of several, originally astronomical, calculations. Probably the complicated dates of ancient Royal charters were calculated with a view to securing an auspicious time for the issue, which was considered a matter of great importance. The calculations were founded on a knowledge of Indian astrology. In subsequent periods of Javanese civilization this knowledge was lost and the complicated dates disappeared.

In the pre-Islamic period, in Court literature, years were calculated according to an Indian calendar. The era which was practically always used was the Śāka era. For convenience' sake it is the custom to add 78 to the number of a year noted in Śāka to make up the A.D. year. The years were

solar years. In Bali the Śāka era has remained in use up to the present time.

Probably for a long time an indigenous calendar based on simple astronomic observations has been current in Java. The year is also a solar year. Neither in the pre-Islamic nor in the Islamic period is it often mentioned in literature. Apparently belonging to the sphere of agriculturists, it was disregarded by authors of Court literature. In the nineteenth century it was studied by Dutch scholars. At the time it was simply called *manṣa* (i.e. season) calendar (see 42.000).

Another indigenous Javanese calendar, called *parawukon*, also seems to date from ancient times. It is closely connected with divination and the finding of auspicious dates for any undertaking. In Javanese-Balinese and Islamic Javanese literature, the number of texts on *parawukon* divination is legion. *Parawukon* refers to *wuku*, a partition or node

between the joints of a bamboo stalk. Evidently the *paṇwukon* is called after the many-jointed bamboo which is a natural counting-lath. In Javanese divination the *paṇwukon* has thirty *wuku* weeks of seven days, each *wuku* having a name of its own. Its origin is unknown. Perhaps it is related to a sacral cycle of ancient rice cultivation, from preparing the soil up to the harvest. Names of some *wukus*, and the *paṇwukon* myth (Watu Gunung), seem to point that way. Being originally a sacral year, the *paṇwukon*'s subsequent close connection with divination is understandable. The *wuku* year of 210 days intersects both the solar year of 365 days and the Arabic lunar year of 354 days. In the Islamic period *wukus* are frequently mentioned in dates, but in Old Javanese texts they are scarcely met with. Perhaps at the time the *paṇwukon* was still considered as belonging specifically to the agrarian sphere, not closely connected with the Court.

In Javanese chronology "weeks" are known from two up to ten days. Their numerous intersections are registered in divination tables and indicated as auspicious or inauspicious. The Javanese week of five days occupies an important place in everyday life side by side with the universally known seven-days week. The five-days week is called *pasar*-week because in many districts of Central Java the local market (*pasar*) was fixed on a day of the five-days week, not on a day of the seven-days week. The five days are especially interesting because of their close relation with ancient cosmic and social classification. The absence of references to them in Old Javanese texts is the more remarkable. Perhaps the explanation is the same as in the case of the *maṇṣa* calendar

and the *paṇwukon*: because they belonged to the aboriginal agrarian sphere of Javanese civilization. Old Javanese Court scholars were not interested in them.

Apparently in the Islamic period several elements of indigenous Javanese culture, losing part of their sacral character, were secularized and made known to the public on a greater scale than before. Probably this was the case with the *wayang* theatre, the *gamelan* orchestra and some sacral dances. Islam liberated Javanese literature and art from the fetters of ancient sacral taboos, and so some elements of culture were given the freedom to develop and expand.

In chronology, however, the influence of Islam induced the Javanese Kings to exchange the old Indian solar year for the Arabic lunar year, which was unpractical. Annual religious celebrations of Islam follow the Arabic lunar year, and so this year became the sacral year of all Muslim peoples. For use in agriculture it was everywhere necessary to have a special solar calendar beside the official and sacral lunar one. In Java the *maṇṣa* calendar was given this function.

The Javanese King of Mataram, Sultan Agung, who in Śāka 1547, i.e. 1625 A.D., decided to follow henceforth the Arabic lunar calendar in all state matters, did not adopt the Islamic era, however. The solar Śāka year 1547 was followed by a lunar Javanese year 1548, and so on. The Islamic Hīġra years (A.H. 1035, 1036) were henceforth mentioned incidentally but not officially. Without any doubt it was the intention of Sultan Agung and his successors by this measure to demonstrate the continuity of Javanese history and cultural development,

which began with the śāka era, at the same time, by the change of calendar, indicating that the Javanese kingdom was entering upon a new era. This remarkable decision of Javanese Kings is in concordance with the trend of Javanese cultural development which was influenced, but not fundamentally reversed, by Islam.

The adoption of the Arabic lunar calendar included the introduction of an octennial cycle. The eight years are called after the eight letters at the beginning of the Arabic alphabeth, according to the ancient order preserved in Hebrew. In Javanese the cycle is called with the borrowed Indian word *windu* (Sanskrit *bindu*: dot), which has associations with pre-Islamic religious speculation. As a rule in Java the *windu* name of the year is mentioned in every date, which is good for checking. The attention paid to the *windu* names, and the borrowed Indian name of the octennial *windu* cycle, are remarkable. Perhaps even in the Arabic calendar the number of eight was associated by Javanese scholars with the ancient concept of quadratic and octangular cosmic classification.

In consequence of the adoption of the lunar calendar the distance between year

numbers following the Javanese śāka era and the Christian era diminished gradually. As contacts of Javanese officials with Dutch merchants and officers increased, it was necessary to make lists of corresponding Javanese and Christian year numbers. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries almanacks issued by Dutch Government bureaux used to contain comparative lists of years in three eras: Javanese, Arabic and Christian. More and more it became the custom in letters and books to mention dates according to two calendars and in two eras: Javanese śāka and Christian. Finally in modern times the Javanese śāka era seems to fall into disuse. The Arabic calendar, being the sacral calendar of Islam, remains, of course, for Muslim religious use.

The Dutch "Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië" (2nd edition, 1917-1940) contains interesting information on Javanese chronology provided by Dr Rouffaer (catchword: "Tijdrekening"). Comparative lists of Arabic, Javanese and Christian years borrowed from the "Encyclopaedie" are inserted in the present author's Javanese-Dutch dictionary ("Javaans-Nederlands Handwoordenboek", (1938 and 1945).

00130 Writing Materials and Books.

The oldest written Javanese texts, Royal charters of the pre-Islamic period, were engraved on stone slabs or copper plates. Apparently in some cases inscriptions were not engraved directly on copper or brass plates but the plates were cast in moulds containing the texts en relief. Probably the lost-wax

(*cire perdue*) process was applied, which was well-known with Javanese sculptors of bronze cult statuettes representing Indian gods and goddesses. Cult statuettes and Royal charters had in common their association with religious worship, the charters being intended to be preserved and worshipped as fetishes

by the descendants of the original grantee. Considered from this point of view the origin of ancient cast brass plate charters and bronze cult statuettes from the same brass-founders workshops belonging to religious communities seems not incongruous (see 20.000).

Probably in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries occasionally Javanese texts with a religious or magical purport were engraved on thin copper strips of a narrow form which afterwards often were made into small rolls. The rolls were used as charms or amulets, carefully preserved at home or carried concealed in the clothes. In shape the copper rolls resemble rolls of palmleaf which also are occasionally used for magic purposes, being provided with an inscription or a drawing.

In olden times the above mentioned written texts were venerated or feared as much on account of their contents as for the script, the letters, which were considered with religious awe as visible marks of invisible, superhuman powers. For a very long time the mysterious connection of writing with audible and sensible words remained a wonder. All kinds of written texts and books were handled with circumspection. In antiquity putting trivial matters and information on persons of no consequence in writing seemed preposterous. In consequence in old manuscripts notes on personal circumstances and descriptions of everyday life are very scarce, which is a pity.

In Java, scratching texts of any importance on bamboo laths is very seldom recorded. Considering the Sumatran use of bamboo as a writing-material it seems probable that in antiquity in Java bamboo lath

books were less scarce than they are now.

In the pre-Islamic period the common writing material was: leaves of various kinds of palms, especially the *lontar* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*), in Java locally called *kropak*. In India writing on palmleaves has been known for a very long time. As the art of writing was introduced by Indians it seems probable that in Java and Bali the use of palmleaves as writing-material is also of Indian origin. The leaves were dried and cut in narrow oblong forms, sometimes with the ribs still attached, sometimes without. Palmleaves with ribs, folded up, tended to warp and so they became unwieldy. With cut ribs, palmleaves of good quality made good flat and flexible writing sheets. As a rule they were pierced in three places, at the two ends and in the middle. A string running through the middle hole could keep a bundle of mostly about one hundred leaves together. In order to make a book, the two ends of the string were run through holes of wooden or bamboo boards of the same size as the palmleaves themselves, and the ends were tied together. The two boards formed the binding of the palmleaf book, in Dutch-Indian parlance called a *kropak*.

Texts were not written on the *lontar* palmleaves with pen and ink, but they were scratched with the point of a small knife. Afterwards a black powder was rubbed in, in order to render the scratchings better visible. If done carefully this manner of writing produced fine manuscripts. A drawback was the impossibility of redressing mistakes, for the scratchings could not be made invisible or corrected.

Occasionally in the pre-Islamic period other methods of writing were used. Fluid

ink was not unknown. It was used, among other things, for writing on thinner leaves than *lontar* palmleaves.

Professor Zoetmulder, in his "Old Javanese Literature" (in preparation), draws attention to the writing implements (called *tanah* and *karas*), used by poets for making notes, and as such occasionally mentioned in Old Javanese *kakawins*. Probably *karas* and *lèpihan*, also mentioned in the same context, were names of large dry leaves. The material was not durable. No doubt books made of *lontar* leaves were the most widely spread.

In Bali writing on palmleaves has continued up to modern times. Given a plentiful supply of the palms, the material is cheap and easily to prepare for use. The making of fine palmleaf manuscripts was an art appreciated and remunerated by priests and noblemen. But then in the twentieth century even in Bali imported paper got the better of the native material, which grew scarce. It needed a long practice to acquire the ability of scratching on palmleaf, and spending many evenings on such a superfluous art seemed a waste of time to young modern people.

In the Islamic period in Java the ancient palmleaves were superseded by other writing materials, though for a considerable time, up to the beginning of the twentieth century, *lontar* manuscripts were still made in East Java and Madura. In those districts the custom prevailed in the villages to have social gatherings where a well-known religious text was sung or recited. It was the fashion for young men to attend those gatherings bringing their own palmleaf manuscripts as textbooks. The favourite text was

the Yusup romance, containing the life of Joseph and his adventures in Egypt (see 30.520). The great number of *lontar* manuscripts of the Yusup romance existant can be explained by this popular custom. Occasionally the wooden boards which served as bindings were decorated with woodcarving or painted in a polychrome design, to show off. On the whole the quality of East Javanese palmleaf manuscripts is below the Balinese standard. Perhaps the varieties of palms and the methods of preparing the leaves were different.

In view of the fact that Chinese and Indian traders have been present in Javanese ports since early times, probably Chinese and perhaps so-called Arabic paper for writing purposes was known in those Javanese communities which had contacts with foreigners. No clear evidence of the existence of pre-Islamic Javanese paper manuscripts is available, however. Probably the native writing material, palmleaves, was deemed satisfactory.

In Java as well as in other islands of the Archipelago from antiquity treebark peeled from some kinds of trees or shrubs has been made, by beating, into sheets. This material, in the islands of the Pacific Ocean generally known as *tapa*, and in the Archipelago often called *fuya*, was used for clothing. The Javanese name is *dluwan*. At the end of the pre-Islamic period *dluwan* clothing belonged in the sacral sphere. The material was no longer generally worn in everyday life but its use subsisted in the circles of religiously minded people, for making a kind of sacerdotal frocks.

Well prepared *dluwan* sheets can be decorated with drawings and coloured paintings. In the pre-Islamic period in Java

clear evidence of the use of *dluwan* for writing purposes is lacking, however. In Bali also it is not generally used to that end. Perhaps beside the palmleaves no other material was needed. Moreover one can imagine the existence of a religious scruple against using *dluwan* sheets, which were associated with divine worship, for writing.

In the Islamic period, on the other hand, the use of treebark paper for writing became popular in Java. Perhaps the example of the so-called Arabic paper, introduced by Muslim traders, induced Javanese converts to put the well-known *dluwan* sheets to a new use, since the religious scruple was overruled by Islam. Moreover palmleaves proved impractical for writing the Arabic script (see 00090), so paper or a paper-like material was wanted.

Since the seventeenth century the use of imported paper beside the native *dluwan* paper increased. *Dluwan* paper could not be made in large lots of the same colour and quality, because the shrubs which supplied the bark had individual differences. The supply of imported paper was more reliable. Probably in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries occasionally parcels of Chinese and so-called Arabic paper were imported and sold in Java. The principal importer of paper was the Dutch East India Company, however; paper from the famous Dutch papermills was appreciated at the Javanese Courts.

The plentiful supply of good writing material in the form of imported Dutch and other European paper was instrumental in the rapid increase of the production of books in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the period of renaissance of Javanese classical literature. It was made easy for authors to

write books in many volumes; writing the texts on palmleaves or *dluwan* sheets would have made an unwieldy mass.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the supply of European paper, made in a Dutch papermill in Java, gave Javanese authors the opportunity to write down anything they thought of interest. As a result Javanese books of notes of the last centuries contain valuable information on personal matters which in former periods was never written down.

In the Islamic period the Arabic style of binding was adopted, characterized by a flap covering the front side of the book. Arabic bindings, all leather, mostly goatskin, with stamped decorations, were made in Java since the eighteenth century, especially for the use of religiously minded people who wanted books resembling Arabic volumes of Islamic lore. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries European bindings came en vogue. The European style was soon imitated by bookbinders who knew how to make the laborious Arabic bindings.

For the rest bookbinding did not develop into a fine art in Java. The stamped goatskin bindings had conventional decorative designs. In many cases the boards of palmleaf manuscripts decorated with woodcarving are artistically more interesting.

Since the eighteenth century, and perhaps earlier, Javanese artists have availed themselves of the opportunity, offered by paper and *dluwan* books, to illuminate the texts with illustrations. Before, in the period of the *lontar* manuscripts, the palmleaves, being narrow and oblong, did not offer much room for making illustrations, and the paint did not adhere properly. Probably in the pre-

Islamic period Javanese artists made paintings on sheets of native cotton textile or on *dluwang* sheets. The illustrations in books were partly imitations of those paintings.

In Javanese pictorial art two styles are distinguished, a traditional so-called *wayan* style and a naturalistic style (see 42.100). Combination of the two styles is not seldom found even in one picture.

In Balinese art the characteristic features

of the *wayan* style, exaggerated length of noses and arms, are less pronounced, but still apparent. Bali is famous for its illustrated palmleaf manuscripts, with black-and-white drawings (i.e. scratchings) of high artistic value. Javanese palmleaf manuscripts containing comparable illustrations are unknown. The third volume of the present book contains samples of illustrations in Javanese and Balinese manuscripts.

00140 Books and Treatises on Javanese Literature, Bibliography.

In the pre-Islamic period the vast amount of Javanese books already had drawn the attention of Javanese scholars. They wrote treatises on the names and years of Old Javanese epic poems. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the Dutch scholar Winter of Surakarta was able to collect useful information on the names of writers of older works and their dates. Winter's authorities were scholars belonging to the circle of the Surakarta renaissance of classical Javanese literature (see 46.450).

Beside the above mentioned indigenous Javanese sources of information, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries several books and treatises on the history of Javanese literature written by European scholars became available. In the beginning of the nineteenth century Sir Stamford Raffles collected notes provided by Javanese scholars, and in the middle of the century De Hollander wrote a survey. Friederich and Poensen added valuable items to the store of information. In the last decades of the nineteenth century and in the twentieth century Kern, van der Tuuk and Brandes gradually suc-

ceeded in bringing some systematic order in the study of Javanese literature. The discovery of Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese texts in Bali by Friederich and van der Tuuk proved to be of the greatest consequence. Uhlenbeck's "Critical Survey of "Studies on the Languages of Java and "Madura" (1964) contains most useful bibliographical information on general introductions to Javanese literature and editions of texts (p. 112-113 and 145-173). The catalogues of collections of manuscripts in Leiden and Batavia (Djakarta) made by Vreede, Juynboll, Brandes and Poerbatjaraka contain summaries of important Javanese texts. The collections and catalogues will be enumerated and described in the Introduction to the second volume of the present book: Lists of Manuscripts. Under the present head the titles of books and treatises which are repeatedly referred to in the Synopsis and in the next volume of the present book are registered alphabetically. Several of the books are Dutch university Ph.D. theses and editions of important texts. Most of them are useful reference-books for students of the

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vol. 98, 1939. in de Javaansche Soeloek-litteratuur.
— Studien zur Geschichte des Śivaismus. Thesis Leiden University, Nijmegen, 1935.
Die Śaiva-Systematik des Vṛhaspatitattva. — Kawi and Kēkawin, BKI, vol. 113, 1957.
Śata-Piṭaka Series, vol. 7, Nagpur, 1958. — see Teeuw, Lubdhaka.

00145 List of Abbreviations.

The third column of the list contains references to the paragraphs in Volume Two of the present book where the abbreviated items, names of collections etc., are discussed. As the abbreviations are also used in the present volume, the list has been inserted here.

AdGUB	Amsterdam, Gemeentelijke Universiteits Bibliotheek (Municipal University Library)	50.006-V
AdKIT	Amsterdam, Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (A: Artis, H: Haarlem)	50.006-II
alb. Moens	Album collection Moens, KBG, Djakarta	50.002-9
BCB prtf	Bundels C. Berg in portfolios, Leiden	50.005-V
BG	Bataviaas Genootschap (Batavian Society) codexes	50.002-1
BKI	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut, The Hague/Leiden, since 1852	
Br	Brandes collection, KBG, Djakarta	50.002-4
BrJN	Breda, Justinus van Nassau Museum	50.006-X
BrKMA	Breda, Koninklijke Militaire Academie, Library	50.006-XI
cat.	Catalogues of Javanese collections, Leiden	50.007
CB	Collection Berg, Leiden	50.005-V
CS	Cohen Stuart collection, KBG, Djakarta	50.002-3
DevAth	Deventer, Athenaeum Library, City Hall	50.006-IX
DFT	Delft collection, Leiden	50.005-IV
dHMvO	Den Haag, Museum voor het Onderwijs (Educational Museum), The Hague	50.006-XII
Djawa	Djāwā, Tijdschrift van het Java Instituut, Surakarta/Yogyakarta, 1920-1940	
Eng	Engelenberg lontars, KBG, Djakarta	50.002-5
GrnRUB	Groningen, Rijks Universiteits Bibliotheek	50.006-VII
J	Java lontars, KBG, Djakarta	50.002-6
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society	

Jrb	Jaarboek (Annual Report) van het Koninklijk Bataviaas Genootschap, Djakarta	
Ju	Juynboll's catalogues, Leiden	50.007
KBG	Koninklijk Bataviaas Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, founded 1778 (Museum Pusat), Djakarta	
KBNW	Kawi-Balinesees-Nederlands Woordenboek, by Dr H. N. van der Tuuk	
KHA O	Koninklijk Huis Archief (Royal Household Archives), Oriental Department, The Hague	50.006-VIII
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology), codexes (Or: oriental, H: Dutch, Holland)	50.006-I
KNAW	Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Leiden, loan-collection	50.005-I
Kr	Krieger collection, Leiden	50.005-VI
Krt	Kirtya collection, Bali	50.003
Lombok	Lombok collection, Leiden	50.004-XVII
lontar	lontar collection, KBG, Djakarta	50.002-2
LOr	Leiden University Library, Oriental Department	50.004
Moens	Moens collection, KBG, Djakarta	50.002-8
NBS	Netherlands Bible Society collection, Leiden	50.005-II
NotBG	Notulen (Minutes) van de Directievergaderingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaas Genootschap	
NR-ThP	Nieuwe Reeks (New Series), Th. Pigeaud coll., Yogyakarta	50.002-11
Nst	Noosten collection, Leiden	50.005-III
PB	Panti Budaya collection, Yogyakarta	50.002-12
Pigeaud	Pigeaud collection, Yogyakarta	50.002-10
Prb	Poerbatjaraka, editions, catalogues and monographs	00140
REM	Rijks Ethnografisch Museum collection, Leiden	50.005-VII
Roorda	Roorda collection, Leiden	50.004-I, IV
RtGemBbl	Rotterdam, Gemeentelijke Bibliotheek (Municipal Library)	50.006-IV
RtMLV	Rotterdam, Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde	50.006-III
SnHurg	Snouck Hurgronje collection, Leiden	50.004-XX and XXX
TBG	Tijdschrift voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaas Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, since 1853	
Teeuw	Teeuw collection	50.005-VIII
UtrRUB	Utrecht, Rijks Universiteits Bibliotheek	50.006-VI
vdT	van der Tuuk collection, Leiden	50.004-XIII

vdW	von de Wall collection, KBG, Djakarta	50.002-7
VerhBG	Verhandelingen (Proceedings) van het Koninklijk Bataviaas Genootschap, since 1779	
VerhKI	Verhandelingen (Proceedings) van het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, The Hague/Leiden, since 1938	
Vr	Vreede's catalogue of Javanese manuscripts, Leiden	50.007

SYNOPSIS OF JAVANESE LITERATURE 900—1900 A.D.

00150 Introduction.

The present Synopsis of Javanese literature, 900—1900 A.D., does not pretend to be a History of Javanese literary activity. The data for writing a trustworthy historical survey provided with full particulars on names and dates of authors and their lives are lacking, and the chance of discovering them seems small. Most works are anonymous, and in many cases the age is a matter of conjecture. Therefore the present author has confined himself to giving characterizations of texts, indicating their places in the frame of Javanese literature.

For ease of survey the mass of Javanese writings is systematically divided into four Parts (see 00010):

- I Religion and Ethics, 10.000—19.240.
- II History and Mythology, 20.000—29.420.
- III Belles-Lettres, 30.000—31.468.
- IV Science, Arts, Humanities, Law; Folklore, Customs and Miscellanea, 40.000—49.970.

Historically and geographically four Eras of cultural development are distinguished in the present Synopsis (see 00020):

- A. a pre-Islamic period of about six centuries, about 900—1500 A.D., mainly in East Java.
- B. a Javanese-Balinese period of about four centuries, about 1500—1900 A.D., in Bali and Lombok.

C. a Javanese North Coast (Pasisir) period, about 1500—1700 A.D.

D. a period of renaissance of classical literature, about 1700—1900 A.D., mainly in Central Java.

Tentatively in the development of Javanese literature five literary idioms are distinguished (see 00030):

- 1. Old Javanese, mainly in East Java.
- 2. Javanese-Balinese, in Bali and Lombok.
- 3. North Coast (Pasisir) Javanese of East and Central Java.
- 4. North Coast (Pasisir) Javanese of West Java.
- 5. modern Javanese, Surakarta standard.

In the present Synopsis codexes containing identical or closely related texts are collected under one paragraph number. In many cases introductory remarks on groups of texts are included. They have also paragraph numbers.

The four Parts of the systematic classification (I, II, III and IV) correspond with the paragraph numbers, as mentioned above. The other distinctions, in four Eras and five idioms, are used occasionally in descriptions of codexes in volume Two (see 50.009, Introductory Remarks on the Descriptions, sub II).

It should be noted, however, that under a paragraph number not all codexes containing the text may be mentioned, because

the text may be included as second or third etc. item in a compilation. In the present book compilations are called after the first text, and only registered under the paragraph of the first text. This is done in order to avoid an excess of cross-references. Therefore it is strongly recommended, when looking for manuscripts of a particular text, to make use of the General Index in Volume Three. It refers to all codexes containing a wanted text, even if that text is a second or third item (see also 50.009 and 70.001, Introductory Remarks on the Descriptions and on the General Index).

The numbers of those codexes which are copies, either in Javanese, Balinese or Arabic script, or romanized, are, preceded by a sign of equality, put between brackets behind the numbers of the original codexes, e.g.: *cod.* 3786 (= 4468). Most copies which have numbers above 10.000, and copies belonging to the BCB collection, are romanized; they

have been made by Mr Soegiarto. The original numbers of the Kirtya collection, in Bali, are also put between brackets, e.g.: 9172 (Krt 156). The Kirtya codexes in the Leiden University Library are all romanized.

The descriptions of the LOr codexes and the codexes belonging to the smaller collections, in volume Two, contain full particulars on the origin of the manuscripts and their inter-relationship.

In the present book on Literature of Java paragraphs are numbered consecutively throughout the three volumes, from 0001 up to 70.000 ff.

00001—49.970 are in volume One, Synopsis of Javanese Literature.

50.000 ff. are in volume Two, Lists of Manuscripts.

60.000 ff. and 70.000 ff. are in volume Three, Illustrations etc. and General Index.

SYNOPSIS, PART ONE

RELIGION AND ETHICS

10.000 Old Javanese Religious Literature.*

In the pre-Islamic period of Javanese cultural history, Indian religious rites were performed at Court and elsewhere in the country where expert officiants were available. It is impossible to ascertain the extent of the common people's participation in rites and offerings, nor do we know anything about common freemen's and bondmen's devotion to the Indian gods. Perhaps it is safe to assume that for several centuries between 900 and 1500 A.D., and in large areas of the country (which was sparsely populated), common country people, either freemen or bondmen, had a small interest in strange rites and offerings to gods with unfamiliar names.

For a considerable majority of the Javanese people, living in the restricted circle of small rural communities, rites connected with ancient indigenous myths, ancestor-worship and cults of local spirits of mountains, sources and rivers probably were sufficient religious bindings with the Unseen (see 48.600 and 49.200). In 14.000 attention is drawn to the probable analogy of Indian religion and Islam as foreign ideologies which for a long time remained the spiritual property of a cultural elite, not spreading nor appreciated among the common people in the country.

In pre-Islamic Javanese literature, e.g. in the *Tantu Panğĕlaran* (see 20.400), references to ancient indigenous myths are found. Universal Histories and Books of Tales (*Sĕrat Kaṇḍa*, see 22.900), probably written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the period of acculturation of Islam in the prosperous North Coast districts (*Pasisir*), contain tales which also seem to be connected with ancient native mythology. Rice myths have been registered under 23.700 (West Java) and 25.000 (Central and East Java). In the nineteenth century these myths were adapted to the standard of modern Javanese literature. Nevertheless the poems contain certainly old elements. In the present Synopsis all myths have been registered in Part Two, History and Mythology.

Javanese literature, both pre-Islamic and Muslim, is deficient in providing information on religious rites connected with those an-

* In the following paragraphs (10.000—13.910), religious texts belonging to the Eras **A** and **B** of Javanese cultural history, the pre-Islamic period of Java and the Javanese-Balinese period, have been registered together (see 00020), because it is too hazardous to make a division. The literary idioms of the texts are called Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese (see 00030, groups 2 and 3).

cient indigenous myths. The only reliable information on Javanese religiosity connected with ancient native concepts of the Unseen is found in the survivals of old agricultural fertility rites, cults of rice goddesses and worship of local spirits and in popular family customs on the occasion of circumcisions, weddings and funerals ("rites de passage"), still existing in many rural districts of Java. Some ceremonies connected with ancient cults are described in collections of notes, made by modern observers, both Javanese and Dutch. In the Synopsis those notes have been registered under 49.000.

In the Islamic period of Javanese cultural history ancient myths and popular ceremonies connected with them survived. As the influence of Islam, henceforth the official religion of Java, increased, the survivals of ancient rites were in a way Islamized. Fragments of Arabic prayers were recited occasionally, and Muslim saints were made into personages of ancient mythic tales. In the present Synopsis legends of saints have been registered under 24.500.

Evidently in pre-Islamic times a similar kind of acculturation was in progress. As Javanese written literature of the period was dominated by Indian culture, ancient indigenous mythic tales were clad in a pseudo Indian garb, and personages appearing in such tales were given names of Indian gods and heroes.

Authentic texts exclusively dealing with indigenous Javanese rites and myths are not in evidence. All religious texts which have been registered in Part One of this Synopsis were written by authors living in a sphere where one of the great religious systems: Indian, Muslim or Christian, was dominant.

Information on ancient Javanese religion can only be obtained by means of deduction. The texts in which scholars have found vestiges of indigenous religious concepts have not been given a special paragraph in the present Synopsis, because evidently the Javanese authors' intention was not to write on the ancient belief. Manuscripts which may prove interesting in this respect have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *exorcism*, *incantation*, *magic*, *rice-myth* and *spirits*.

Bali did not become a Muslim country like Java, and so in Bali the process of Indianization was not interrupted by Islam. Probably as a consequence of the immigration of Javanese courtiers and scholars unwilling to become Muslims, and therefore seeking a refuge in Bali, Indianization of Balinese culture was even accelerated. Javanese-Balinese literature preserved Old Javanese texts of all kinds, many of them impregnated with Indian religious ideas. Moreover, in the course of time Javanese literature in Bali had a development of its own, divergent from the contemporaneous literature in the homeland.

In the field of religion both the divergency and the autonomous development of Javanese-Balinese literature are apparent. In Muslim Java, religious literature was of course dominated by Islam, and books on Indian religion almost completely disappeared. In seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century Bali, on the other hand, religion, partly preserving Old Javanese concepts, developed and religious literature was enriched with specifically Javanese-Balinese texts.

Unfortunately it is difficult to ascertain whether a given text is of Old Javanese

origin, revised by Balinese scholars, or written in Bali after 1500 A.D. Books of notes on religious speculation and ritual are seldom dated, and internal evidence as to the origin of the text is not always available.

Old manuscripts dealing with pre-Islamic religious speculation have sporadically been found in Java, and village priests in the Tenggër highlands, where Islam did not penetrate, have preserved some Old Javanese treatises. These remnants of pre-Islamic culture are disappointing to scholars seeking information on Old Javanese religion. The people who preserved the old manuscripts did not belong to the class of cultured ecclesiastics. In fact even in the pre-Islamic period the Tenggër highlanders seem to have formed a separate community, worshipping the spirit of a volcano who (by outsiders, probably) had been given an Indian name, Brahma (in Javanese pronounced Brâmâ). So, as a rule, Old Javanese religious texts preserved in Java only contain rather popular speculations, apparently of a relatively recent date, and no learned treatises with commentaries of Sanskrit ślokas. Moreover Old Javanese manuscripts found in Java often are severely damaged by the wear and tear of time.

In the pre-Islamic period in Java, and afterwards in Bali, the ecclesiastical class was divided into two main groups: Śiwaites and Buddhists. In the centuries between 900 and 1500 A.D. other groups of ecclesiastics also existed in Java: Wishnuites and Śiwaitic hermits connected with popular religion. These four groups, together with several denominations of minor importance, are mentioned in literature (see the present author's "Java in the XIVth Century"), but it is difficult to make a division in the mass

of pre-Islamic religious texts, and to assign certain books to each group. Especially in the case of Wishnuites and Śiwaitic hermits assignment of religious texts is almost impossible. Probably the Tantu Pangġëlaran, not strictly a book on religion but a collection of mythic and legendary tales, belonged in the sphere of the popular śiwaitic hermits (see 20.430). Purely Wishnuitic Old Javanese texts have not been found, though Wishnu is frequently mentioned in literature.

In Bali up to modern times Śiwaitic and Buddhist priests are in evidence, but the Buddhists form a small minority. Moreover, according to Dr Hooykaas ("Āgama Tirtha, "Five Studies in Hindu-Balinese Religion", 1964), officiants belonging to several other groups can be called in to perform rites, especially exorcisms. This is likely to be a Balinese development of an Old Javanese religious custom. It seems possible that some Balinese officiants are spiritual descendants of Old Javanese popular priests who used to officiate on similar occasions.

As to the religious beliefs of the laity in pre-Islamic Java nothing can be said with any certainty. The Old Javanese texts on religious speculation and ritual which have come down to us were primarily written for the use of the priests, and so were the Javanese-Balinese religious treatises current in Bali. Many texts contain injunctions to keep the contents secret. Yet it is not improbable that some ecclesiastics were willing to give elementary instruction on the fundamentals of their religion to laymen who requested them to do so. As a rule the laity was perhaps less interested in theological explanations of the nature of the gods and in descriptions of rites than in mythical tales

about divine exploits and the establishing of order in cosmos and human society. In the present Synopsis texts on mythology have been registered in Part Two.

In the pre-Islamic period laymen depended completely on the clergy for officiating in various religious functions, mostly sacrificial and consecration ceremonies. Participation of the laity was expected only in the form of providing offerings (flowers, incense and food) and accessories, and in devout attention. Holy water consecrated by an officiating priest was for laymen the means of hallowing places, persons and things. Especially in present-day Bali the laity's (and also the clergy's) contact with divine presence seems to be established pre-eminently through the intermediary of holy water. As a consequence Balinese religion as a whole is very aptly called holy-water religion (*Āgama Tīrtha*, the title of Dr Hooykaas' "Studies in Bali-nese Religion", 1964). In pre-Islamic Java holy water may have occupied a similar place in the laity's life, but explicit evidence in texts is lacking.

Offerings are mentioned in many Javanese-Balinese books of notes on ritual. Texts on magic and medicines, which in the Synopsis have been registered in Part Four, sometimes refer also to offerings. But unfortunately in many cases only the raw materials of the offerings are mentioned. The composition of the intricate structures of flowers and various kinds of food, cakes etc., belonged to the province of expert women. Their lore was not put into writing, it was transmitted only orally from mother to daughter and from mistress to maid.

In present-day Bali the laymen's preference for either a Śiwaite or a Buddhist priest

to officiate in a given ceremony depends much more on family tradition and personal acquaintance than on belief in Śiwaite or Buddhist religious tenets. Perhaps a similar attitude prevailed already in pre-Islamic Java.

In fact, during many centuries Śiwaite and Buddhist (Tantristic) ecclesiastics in Java and Bali showed a tendency to entertain relations of good neighbourliness, and their religious speculations and rites tended to become similar. In order to facilitate the survey, Śiwaite and Buddhist texts have been registered separately in the present Synopsis as far as possible.

Both Śiwaite and Buddhist Old Javanese treatises and notes on religious speculation and ritual are based on short Sanskrit texts. The oldest treatises consisted of Sanskrit texts provided with Old Javanese paraphrases. In a following stage the paraphrases were enlarged so as to become commentaries. Gradually, as the interest in the original Sanskrit texts flagged, they became unintelligible in consequence of mistakes made by generations of copyists and were dropped, and the commentaries developed into independent treatises. Finally special subjects mentioned in older texts were given separate treatment. In the Islamic period of Javanese cultural history Arabic religious texts performed the same function (see 14.400).

The course of development of Old Javanese religious texts has already been described by Dr Goris ("Bijdrage tot de Kennis "der Oud-Javaansche en Balineesche Theologie", 1926). Afterwards Dr Ziesenis wrote an enlightening treatise in German on Old Javanese Śiwaite religious literature ("Studien zur Geschichte des Çivaismus, I, Die "Çivaitischen Systeme in der Altjavanischen

“Literatur”, BKI vol. 89, 1939, and II, “Die Śaiva-Systematik des Vṛhaspatitattva”, IAIC, 1958). The Old Javanese Wṛhaspati Tatwa has been edited and translated into English by Sudarshana Dévi (IAIC, 1957).

The fact of Old Javanese religious literature being written mainly in prose, not in verse (see 00020) is remarkable. Perhaps the prose of the texts is to be explained as a survival of the prose of the paraphrases of Sanskrit ślokas which were the beginning of Old Javanese religious literature (and of other kinds of Old Javanese literature as well).

Under the present head manuscripts containing Śiwaite texts belonging to the oldest stages: Sanskrit ślokas provided with Old Javanese paraphrases, and commentaries, have been registered. Many manuscripts containing such Sanskrit verses have been listed in the General Index under the catchword *śloka*. Old Javanese texts of very different kinds: religious, moralistic, belletristic, epic and juridic, may contain Sanskrit ślokas. Undoubtedly many Sanskrit ślokas were composed by Javanese and Balinese scholars. Therefore the presence of Sanskrit ślokas in a Javanese text is not to be considered as a clear evidence of the religious character and Indian origin of the said text.

The age of Old Javanese religious texts belonging to the oldest stages is difficult to ascertain. The texts do not contain dates. They are, as a rule, preserved in recent Balinese manuscripts. Dr Goris (“Theologie”, 1926, p. 10), mentioning Sūrya worship as an element of Old Javanese Śiwaite religious speculation, drew attention to Sanskrit Agni Purāṇa and Garuḍa Purāṇa, where Śiwa and Sūrya, Śiwāditya, appear united. Agni

Purāṇa and Garuḍa Purāṇa seem to belong to the period between 550 and 900 A.D. In the ninth and tenth centuries Indian culture and art (Prambanan and Bara Buḍur temples) flourished in Central Java. So Dr Goris was inclined to think that the oldest Old Javanese Śiwaite religious texts were written at an early date in Central Java, reflecting the Sanskrit texts which belonged to the same period. Dr Ziesenis pointed to the Śaiwa-Siddhānta system as comparable with ideas expressed in the oldest Old Javanese texts.

Old Javanese religious literature is less explicit on ritual than the later Javanese-Balinese texts. The cult of idols of the gods is not mentioned. The major part of the majestic stone and bronze statues of gods and goddesses which have been found in East Java in the nineteenth century seem to have had a function in the cult of Royal ancestors. On the ritual of the priests in the Old Javanese Royal ancestor temples (called *caṇḍis*), the residences of the deified Kings, nothing is known with any certainty. The manuscripts do not provide information on this point.

10.010 Old Javanese Śiwaite texts with ślokas, old treatises:

cod. 5022 (Bhuwana Kośa), 5215 (Tatwa saṅ hyaṅ Mahājñāna), 9372 (Krt 601, Parakriya), 9830 (Krt 1526, Bhuwana Saṅkṣépa), 10.286 (Krt 2375, Ādhyātmika).

10.020 Wṛhaspati Tatwa, with ślokas, old treatise:

cod. 3930, 3963, 5128, 9110 (Krt 54), 9671 (Krt 1195a), CB 120 (Ziesenis).

10.030 Sapta Bhuwana, with ślokas, old treatise:

cod. 3786 (= 4468).

10.040 Catur Yuga Widhi Śāstra, or Brah-mokta Widhi Śāstra, with ślokaś:

cod. 5071, 9172 (Krt 156), 9344 (Krt 552).

10.050 Tatwa Jñāna, with ślokaś:

cod. 4466 (= 10.567 = BCB prtf 66), 9324 (Krt 490), 9483 (Krt 834).

10.070 Tiga Jñāna, notes on religious speculation, with ślokaś (cf. 10.840):

cod. 9401 (Krt 670).

10.200 Buddhist texts belonging to the oldest stages of Old Javanese religious literature are scarcer than Śiwaite ones. Nevertheless they are not lacking, and they soon attracted the attention of Dutch scholars. In the field of Buddhist religious speculation the Kamahāyānikan is well-known. The text was mentioned by Juynboll (BKI vol. 60, 1908, Mahāyāna) and afterwards edited and translated by Kats (Dutch, 1910) and partly re-edited and re-translated by Wulff (German, 1935). In the General Index several manuscripts containing references to the texts have been registered under the catchword *Kamahāyānikan*.

Like the oldest Śiwaite texts, the Kamahāyānikan also consists of Sanskrit ślokaś with paraphrases and commentaries. Dr Goris ("Theologie", p. 156) has ascribed both the oldest Buddhist texts and the oldest Śiwaite ones to authors living in the tenth or the eleventh century A.D. (and for the same reason, see 10.000). In some manuscripts Goris noted inserted paragraphs belonging to a later period. The name of the text bears evidence of the Mahāyānist character of Javanese Buddhism. On several occasions Tantristic rites were performed by the Buddhist priests.

10.210 Kamahāyānan Mantrānaya and Ka-

mahāyānikan, Old Javanese Buddhist texts, with ślokaś:

cod. 5068, 5083, 5129.

10.400 Tuturs, Old Javanese Śiwaism. Old Javanese texts on religious speculation, either Śiwaite or Buddhist, belonging to the later stages of this kind of literature (see 10.000) are by far more numerous than older texts. In the later stages Sanskrit ślokaś gradually disappeared and Old Javanese comments or notes became dominant. Finally independent treatises or notes on special subjects in the field of religious speculation made their appearance.

In the pre-Islamic period books on religion and ethics in general were called *tuturs*: books of lessons. In fact many *tuturs*, especially those belonging to the later stages of development, are in the form of lessons given by a master to his pupil. In the present Synopsis the term is used for choice for Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese treatises, both Śiwaite and Buddhist, belonging to those later stages of religious literature.

In several cases it is difficult to ascertain whether a given *tutur* is of Old Javanese or Balinese origin, written after 1500 A.D. In the course of the centuries many Old Javanese texts were re-edited and provided with insertions and appendixes by Balinese authors. Nevertheless in the present Synopsis an attempt has been made to distinguish Old Javanese from Javanese-Balinese *tuturs*. The latter group is often recognizable by references to Bali and by a pronouncedly Javanese-Balinese idiom. In the Balinese period of Indian-Javanese religious literature the number of independent notes and theological treatises on special subjects seems

to have been on the increase (see 11.000). The *tutur* manuscripts of Bali often are compilations or books of notes. Beside treatises on religious speculation they may contain notes on various other subjects: magic, divination etc. In this respect they are comparable with the *primbons*, books of notes belonging to Islamic Javanese literature, which also may have contents of heterogeneous nature.

Under the present head speculative Śiwaïtic *tuturs* probably of Javanese origin have been collected. In many cases it is clear, however, that Balinese editors and copyists have been at work on the texts. As a rule the idiom cannot be called pure Old Javanese. It verges on the Javanese-Balinese, which in the Synopsis is the name for the Javanese idiom in use with Balinese scholars from about 1500 A.D. up to the present time (see 11.000).

10.410 Treatises on Śiwaïtic religious speculation of Javanese origin:

cod. 3860 (Tutur Sapta Bhuwana = 10.425, Tutur Sabda Pralina = 10.423 = BCB prtf 4).

10.420 Tutur Amërta Kuṇḍalinī and other tuturs:

cod. 5125, 5135 (Tutur Mula Dara = 10.609), 5139, 5154, 5188.

10.600 T u t u r s, O l d J a v a n e s e B u d d h i s m. Javanese *tuturs* on Buddhist religious speculation again are less numerous than Śiwaïtic *tuturs*. On the whole Buddhist texts form only a small minority in Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese literature compared with Śiwaïtic texts.

Under the present head a few manuscripts containing Buddhist *tuturs* have been regis-

tered. It is to be borne in mind, however, that in the course of time the difference between Śiwaism and Buddhism became increasingly vague; so several manuscripts contain *tuturs* of both denominations.

10.610 Treatise on Buddhist religious speculation of Javanese origin:

cod. 5146 (Tutur Kamahāyānikan e.a. = 10.569 = BCB prtf 66).

10.620 Saṅyoga Darana:

cod. 9445 (Krt 756).

10.630 Saṅ Hyañ Pamutus:

cod. 9762 (Krt 1398).

10.640 Kalpa Buddha, Pañca Tathāgata:

cod. 9456 (Krt 776).

10.800 N o n - I s l a m i c r e l i g i o u s t e x t s f r o m J a v a i n *buda, gunuṅ* script. Though since the sixteenth century Islam is the official religion of Java, probably for a long time in distant districts people still clung to old traditions, refusing to accept the authority of Muslim rulers and men of religion. The best known centre of Old Javanese religious conservatism is in the Těnggěr highlands in East Java, where also during the reign of the Majapahit Kings in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries people seem to have been tenacious in maintaining old religious customs. The Těnggěr people and Těnggěr customs have been described by J. E. Jasper, Djāwā vol. VI, VII and VIII, 1926-1928; see also the present author's "Java in the XIVth Century" (references in vol. V, p. 241).

Also in some districts of Central and West Java pre-Islamic belief and customs seem to have subsisted for a considerable time, for in the nineteenth century manuscripts containing pre-Islamic religious lore were still

found there by Dutch scholars. Unfortunately detailed information on the religious communities where those texts were written and used, perhaps as late as the eighteenth century, is not available. Probably in the last decades of the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth, the increase of traffic and the ensuing penetration of Muslim officials into the interior of the country caused old conservative non-Islamic religious communities to fall into discredit with the rural peasantry, and so they lost their means of subsistence.

Non-Islamic texts from Java are written in a peculiar script, which is different from modern Javanese script and also from Balinese. Apparently it is more closely related to the kind of script used in Java in the pre-Islamic period than the other types. It is called *buda* or *gununꦒꦸꦤꦸꦤ* script. In the Islamic era the preceding period was called *jaman buda*, Buddha time, and so the script was also called *buda* script. On the name Buddha time, which is at variance with the facts (Śiwaism was far more important than Buddhism), some notes can be found in the present author's "Java in the XIVth Century" (references in vol. V, p. 40). The name *gununꦒꦸꦤꦸꦤ* script, mountain script, was given on account of the remoteness of the mountain districts where manuscripts written in that script were found. Perhaps in some conservative non-Islamic communities occasionally *buda* or *gununꦒꦸꦤꦸꦤ* script was used as a kind of secret writing, in order to preclude profanation of sacred texts by outsiders. It is not likely that all manuscripts written in *buda* script owe their existence to a desire for secrecy, however, for common belletristic texts written in *buda* script are

in evidence.

The script of the manuscripts which were collected in the nineteenth century has various types. In the present Synopsis the terms *buda*, *gununꦒꦸꦤꦸꦤ* and rustic script are used indiscriminately, in order to draw attention to the relationship existing between the various types of script used in manuscripts apparently written in remote districts of Java (see the facsimiles in Volume Three of the present book).

In consequence of the bad state of preservation of most manuscripts, study of those remnants of non-Islamic Javanese literary activity is difficult. A few manuscripts written in some kind of *buda* or *gununꦒꦸꦤꦸꦤ* script contain literary texts belonging to Part Three, Belles-Lettres, of the present Synopsis. Several manuscripts containing texts on magic and divination are registered in Part Four (40.260 and 41.960). In the present Part One under a separate head (14.200) some Javanese manuscripts written in *buda* script containing Islamic incantations etc. are registered.

The KBG lontar collection in Djakarta contains a considerable number of manuscripts written in *buda* script of Central and West Javanese origin (see 50.052).

Under the present head manuscripts written in various kinds of *buda*, *gununꦒꦸꦤꦸꦤ* or rustic script, containing non-Islamic religious texts have been collected. Apparently they were written in rustic religious communities; the scholarly standard of their authors is not high. Therefore it is unfeasible in respect of those manuscripts to distinguish between texts on religious speculation, on ritual etc. The majority of the manuscripts belongs to the class of books of notes, containing in-

formation on various subjects. The only (tentative) distinction made is between manuscripts of Těḡḡer origin and others.

10.810 Těḡḡer manuscripts, notes on non-Islamic religion:

cod. 6581 (KBG no 791), AdKIT 60/11, REM 2977-1 (= 10.976).

10.820 Javanese manuscripts, notes on non-Islamic religion, written in *buda* or *gunuḡ*, rustic script:

cod. 2268 b, 3039, 8309 (= 8312 = BCB prtf 213, incantations), 8451 (= 8442, Bibl. Nat. Paris, Mal.-Polynes. ms no 161),

9002, 9045 (incantations), REM 206-1 (= 10.975), AdKIT A 6449/6450/6451, AdKIT 596/62, AdKIT 1308/1, DFT S 240/300.

10.830 Old Javanese religious treatises mostly from West Java, copies:

cod. 4463 (BG 1094, Saṅhyaḡ Hayu), 6203 f (incantation), 6203 k no 7, 8515 (Bodleian library, Oxford, Ms Jav. b 1, Rasa Carita).

10.840 Tiga Jñāna, speculative tutur from West Java (cf. 10.070):

cod. 2267.

11.000 Javanese-Balinese Religious Literature.

In Bali the number of religious treatises is considerable. For ease of survey they are divided into four groups in the present Synopsis:

A. Texts on religious speculation, the nature of the gods etc. (cf. Dr Goris's "Theologie"), Tuturs:

11.010 ff. and 11.200 ff.

B. Texts on ritual, mantras and offerings:

11.400 ff. and 11.700 ff.

C. Texts on hymns, incantations, prayers and exorcisms:

11.800 ff., 12.000 ff., 12.200 ff., 12.400 ff., 12.600 ff., 12.800 ff.

D. Didactic, moralistic and edifying texts on devotion and religious behaviour:

13.000 ff., 13.100 ff., 13.200 ff., 13.400 ff., 13.700 ff.

Most texts of the four groups are written in the Javanese-Balinese idiom, i.e. the Javanese idiom which was in general use with Balinese scholars from about 1500 A.D. up to the present time: Javanese of Bali. The

idiom might also be called Balinese Javanese, but then, by using the term Javanese of Bali the present author tries to stress the preponderant Javanese character of the idiom. Balinisms are comparatively scarce (see 00030, ad 2).

As far as possible Śiwaitic and Buddhist texts will be distinguished in the four groups. With respect to younger Javanese-Balinese texts it is often impossible to make such a distinction, however, because the two denominations amalgamated into one Javanese-Balinese religion.

As the majority of Javanese-Balinese manuscripts on religious subjects belongs to the class of books of notes, treatises of various kinds connected with religious speculation, ritual, adoration and devotion, may be found together. In fact in Javanese-Balinese religion the four categories are not very clearly distinguished. Especially ritual, mantras and offerings on the one side, and hymns, incantations, prayers and exorcisms,

religious poetry and songs on the other, have much in common. Still in Javanese-Balinese literature there are some texts dealing exclusively with ritual and offerings. Apparently they were much studied by the priests. Moralistic-didactic texts differ from the other in that they appeal to both ecclesiastics and laymen (see 13.000).

Establishing the age of Javanese-Balinese treatises on religious subjects is very difficult. Probably several Balinese books of notes contain texts or fragments of texts belonging to Old Javanese literature, written in Java. On the other hand, evidently some Javanese-Balinese religious texts were entirely written in Bali. They contain references to specific Balinese customs and beliefs, perhaps survivals of ancient pre-Indian culture. Remnants of primeval indigenous religious and social concepts can be expected as much in Bali as in Java.

Moreover Javanese-Balinese non-Islamic religious texts were also in circulation in Lombok, a colonial kingdom where a class of Balinese nobles and priests ruled over indigenous Muslim Sasaks. In Lombok contact with Islamic religious traditions was unavoidable. In North Bali also Islam was well known, for a settlement of Muslim traders and artisans of East Javanese, Madurese and South Celebes origin has been established in Bulèlèr since the eighteenth century. Javanese-Balinese *tuturs* showing some Islamic influence are in evidence.

Under the present head are listed those Javanese-Balinese *tuturs* dealing with religious speculation (group A) which probably contain many elements of Old Javanese origin. Though references to Buddhism are found in some of the books of notes, on the

whole the contents are so mixed that it is impossible in this group to make a distinction between Śivaitic and Buddhist *tuturs*. In the General Index references to Buddhism will be found under the catchword *Buddha*.

11.010 Javanese-Balinese speculative *tuturs*, probably of Old Javanese origin, Rwa Bhi-néda texts etc.:

cod. 5150, 5187 (= 10.587 = BCB prtf 67), 5224, 9186 (Krt 178), 9695 (Krt 1236).

11.020 Swacaṇḍa Maraṇa texts, on death, etc.:

cod. 5193, 5197, 5223, 5241, 5254 (= 10.571 = BCB prtf 66), 9455 (Krt 773), 9501 (Krt 878), CB 114.

11.030 *Tuturs* on bayu-śabda-iḍēp etc., Ajñāna etc.:

cod. 5065, 5113, 5120, 5347 (= 10.450 = BCB prtf 7).

11.040 *Tuturs* on cosmic order, the gods and the human body:

cod. 3929, 5062, 5064, 5177 (= 10.603 = BCB prtf 69), 5179 (= 10.585 = BCB prtf 67), 5184, 5186, 5201, 5221 (= 10.604 = BCB prtf 69), 5222 (= 10.589 = BCB prtf 67), 5226, 5245, 5354.

11.050 *Tuturs*, miscellanea:

cod. 5045, 5086, 5162, 5166 (= 10.583 = BCB prtf 67), 5167 (= 10.584 = BCB prtf 67), 5168 (= 10.467 = BCB prtf 8), 5172, 5265 (Nirmala Jñāna), 9869 (Krt 1605, Atma Raksa).

11.060 Kumāra Tatwa, *tutur*:

cod. 10.207 (Krt 2256), 10.249 (Krt 2322).

11.200 *Tuturs* of Balinese origin (still group A, 11.000). The dates of the Kings who ruled over Bali between 1500 and 1900 A.D. are imperfectly known. Probably until about 1650 Kings of Gèlgèl,

in South Bali, were acknowledged as suzerains by the majority of local rulers. After that year the most powerful Kings resided in Klungkung, also in South Bali. In the course of time local rulers began to aspire after independence, and internal wars ensued. In the Gèlgèl period Old Javanese tradition in religion and literature probably was still strong. Balinese concepts became evident in the Klungkung period, though the scholarly and literary idiom remained Javanese. It seems as yet impossible to state the dates of Javanese-Balinese *tuturs* more precisely.

Under the present head Javanese-Balinese speculative *tuturs* belonging to the sphere of Klungkung *pēdandas* have been collected. Though on the whole the concepts are not essentially different from the contents of *tuturs* registered under the preceding head, references to Balinese traditions and insertions of Balinese paragraphs are evidences of the authors' or compilers' Balinese cultural background. Several *tuturs* listed under the present head also contain references to Javanese-Balinese incantations which in the present Synopsis have been registered under 12.000. They show a relation with the mythical tales which have been listed in Part Two, History, 20.500. Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *speculation*.

11.210 Javanese-Balinese speculative *tuturs*, Balinese origin, cosmogony, Arta Héto, Éta-Étu etc.:

cod. 3978 (Tēgēs iṅ Bhuwana), 5174 (= 10.422 = BCB prtf 4), 5182, 5269 (Darma Kamulan), 5185, 9090 (Krt 28), 9489 (Krt 841, Aji Mañcoṅol), 9565 (Krt 1004), 9571 (Krt 1014, Loka Karsana), 9668 (Krt

1193), 9724 (Krt 1310, Kama Drēṣṭi), REM 3824-5.

11.220 Cosmogony, Smara Tantra etc.:

cod. 3602, 4717 (= 10.611 = BCB prtf 69), 5203, 9253 (Krt 309, Prakampa), 9777 (Krt 1425, Prabu Wibuh), 9810 (Krt 1485, Aji Putih).

11.230 Cosmic order, gods and spirits, etc.:

cod. 5127, 5170 (= 10.601 = BCB prtf 69), 5211, 9208 (Krt 219, Parama Kēwalya Pada), 9254 (Krt 310, Pañca Mahābhūta), 9634 (Krt 1122, Pañca Mahābhūta), 9746 (Krt 1358, Payogan Baṭara Guru).

11.240 Death and deliverance, *kalēpasan*, etc.:

cod. 5124, 5204 (Prayoganira saṅ sādha-ka), 5362, 5394, 9327 (Krt 493, Śarīra Wēda), 9674 (Krt 1195 d, Tutar Paramarta), 9969 (Krt 1773, Sapani Tatwa).

11.250 Explanations of cryptic expressions:

cod. 4715 (= 10.417 = BCB prtf 3), 5078, 9169 (Krt 153, mpu Siwa Kērtā = CB 104), 9252 (Krt 307, Tatas Buwana), 9532 (Krt 933, Kalēpasan saṅ hyaṅ Śiwa), 9543 (Krt 952, Kalēpasan mpu Kērtā), 9570 a, b (Krt 1012, 1013, Ratu niṅ Sarira), 9601 (Krt 1054, mpu Kērtā), 9702 (Krt 1246, Kaki Tuwa), 9829 (Krt 1525, Utara Sabda Amērtā), 10.018 (Krt. 1902, Sasarṅka Sarana).

11.260 Recently made *tuturs*, mixed with Balinese, Tutar Yukti etc., Tutar Rahayu etc., on *pamaṅkus* and on *ḍukuhs*:

cod. 4560 (Tiṅkah iṅ Pamaṅku), 5152, 9111 (Krt 55), 9160 (Krt 134, Tutar Kumala), 9166 (Krt 148, Raré Aṅon), 9191 (Krt 188), 9316 (Krt 478, Saṅkan Paran), 9418 (Krt 701, mpu Déwa Raja Bērma), 9587 (Krt 1037), 9683 (Krt 1197), 9749 (Krt 1364, Ḍukuh Suci Ajñāna),

- 9783 (Krt 1434), 9893 (Krt 1640, Saṅgraha Kēliṅ), 10.152 (Krt 2171, Prabāṅkara), 10.294 (Krt 2387).
- 11.270** Tutur Kamoksan, on deliverance:
cod. 9334 (Krt 503), 9347 (Krt 527), 9392 (Krt 652), 9498 (Krt 874), 9503 (Krt 882), 9541 (Krt 949), 9622 (Krt 1098, in verse), 9886 (Krt 1623), 9968 (Krt 1772), 10.258 (Krt 2335).
- 11.280** Tuturs, on genesis etc.:
cod. 4713, 5271, 5426, 9121 (Krt 72, Maya Sandi), 9151 (Krt 111, Goṅ Bēsi), 9531 (Krt 932, Iśwara uwāca), 9575 (Krt 1022, Kadadèn iṅ Janma), 9595 (Krt 1048, Tutur Kalēpasan), 9808 (Krt 1477 Madwa Kama), 10.062 (Krt 1989, Catur Pakṣopadēsa Mahāratna).
- 11.290** Tuturs, with some influence of Islam (Lombok):
cod. 5137, 5173, 5336, 9144 (Krt 100, Baṭara ĕmpēlan), 9256 (Krt 319, Aji Kunaṅ-kunaṅ), 9260 (Krt 327, saṅ hyaṅ Pasupati), 9285 (Krt 388, Pratēgēs iṅ Kadadèn), 9373 (Krt 608, Tutur Baṭara Brahma), 9403 (Krt 676, Timbaṅ Wrēhastra), 9645 (Krt 1145, Aji Yoga).
- 11.300** Speculative tuturs, miscellanea:
cod. 3579 (Pāṇḍawa and Pañji cycle personages), 3686 (= 4283 = 10.431 = BCB prtf 5, Tatwa Wawayāṅ), 4518 (= 10.403 = BCB prtf 2, Suksma Basa), 4712, 5048 (Aji Dadari), 5157, 5207 (Baṭara Ukum), 5284 (Lombok), 9083 (Krt 16, Mula Dara, Ajñāna Sandi), 9124 (Krt 76, Aji Ādhyātmika), 9133 (Krt 88, Aji Saraswati), 9153 (Krt 116, Raja Pēni), 9156 (Krt 121, Sipta Maya Sunya), 9162 (Krt 142, Aji Saraswati), 9163 (Krt 145, Darma Tērus Atma), 9197 (Krt 197, Aji Nusup), 9203 (Krt 206, Darma Paṅgoliḥ), 9206 (Krt 211, Pasēka Darma), 9225 (Krt 255, Joṅ Mantēn), 9272 (Krt 358, Amēta Kuṇḍalini), 9276 (Krt 367, Janantaka), 9289 (Krt 406, Sapta Pranawa), 9292 (Krt 409, Lo Nirmala), 9308 (Krt 451, Tēgēs iṅ Wisik Warah), 9370 (Krt 598, Mula niṅ Janma), 9371 (Krt 600, Kaṇḍa saṅ Alukun), 9377 (Krt 614, Aṣṭa Loma), 9439 (Krt 745, Aji Saraswati), 9468 (Krt 804, Aṅkus Prana), 9513 (Krt 901, Tēgēs iṅ para Ratu riṅ Rāga), 9545 (Krt 957, Aṅgastya Prana), 9558 (Krt 990, Sastra niṅ Rāga), 9562 (Krt 995, Tiṅkah iṅ Aguru), 9563 (Krt 996, Nagara niṅ Sarira), 9583 (Krt 1031, Tēgēs iṅ Sūnya Pitutur), 9660 (Krt 1172, Tēgēs iṅ Suksma Basa), 9661 (Krt 1176, Jiwa Kasmaran), 9697 (Krt 1241, Séwaka Darma), 9698 (Krt 1242, Tatwa Maya-maya Sasawaṅṅan), 9699 (Krt 1243, Séwaka Darma), 9705 (Krt 1257, Aji Saraswati), 9747 (Krt 1360, Tatwa Kawruhan), 9773 (Krt 1419, Amēta Kuṇḍalini), 9797 (Krt 1452, Raja Pēni), 9800 (Krt 1459, Aṣṭa Liṅga), 9801 (Krt 1465, Mula Darma), 9806 (Krt 1473, Darma Kapaṇḍéyan), 9809 (Krt 1479, Kaki Mēlēs), 9831 (Krt 1529, Smara Réka), 9836 (Krt 1359, Agama Siwa Buda), 9880 (Krt 1616, Tēgēs iṅ Carita Malat), 9881 (Krt 1617, Tēgēs iṅ Bhārata Yuddha), 9883 (Krt 1620, Tēgēs iṅ Déwātmaka kakawin), 10.000 (Krt 1864, Buda Kacarēm), 10.028 (Krt 1924, Suksma niṅ Sastra), 10.063 (Krt 1990, Pratiṅkah iṅ Anga), 10.183 (Krt 2216, Tērus Ajñāna), 10.225 (Krt 2289, Aji Saraswati), 10.254 (Krt 2330, Siwa Tatwa Agama), 10.259 (Krt 2338, Tutur Dalēm Turaga, Lombok), 10.289 (Krt 2379, Tutur Siwa Murti), 10.290 (Krt 2380,

Guru Upadéśa, Lombok), 10.556 (= BCB prtf 43 B), 10.557 (= BCB prtf 43 B, Tutur Saraswati), 10.559 (= BCB prtf 43 B, Aṣṭa Wiparita Jñāna), 10.788, 10.789, AdKIT A 4846/b, AdKIT A 5796, AdKIT 135/2, CB 115.

11.310 Daśākṣara, Ana Caraka etc.:

cod. 9104 (Krt 47, Dasa Wigama), 9164 (Krt 146, Paṅlukunan Dasaksara), 9196 (Krt 195, Dasaksara), 9198 (Krt 198, Catur Dasaksara), 9209 (Krt 220, Tatwa Wit), 9294 (Krt 413, Tatwa Wit), 9540 (Krt 947, Tatwa Wit), 9561 (Krt 993, Saptorṅkara Tatwa Wiśéśa), 9564 (Krt 997, Saptorṅkara Tatwa Wiśéśa), 9588 (Krt 1038, Ana Caraka), 9663 (Krt 1183, Tatwa Wiśéśa), 9813 (Krt 1490, Śiwa Griguh), 9832 (Krt 1530, Pustaka Déwa), 9858 (Krt 1591, Daśa Prakāśa), 9971 (Krt 1778, Aṣṭa Praṇawa), 10.255 (Krt 2331, Ana Caraka), 10.278 (Krt 2367, Ana Caraka).

11.320 Kuranta Boloṅ, Mirah Boloṅ, speculation and incantations:

cod. 9273 (Krt 359), 9788 (Krt 1440), 10.181 (Krt 2215).

11.330 Atma Prasāṅsa, Arda Smara, on the journey in the world beyond the grave:

cod. 4079, 9223 (Krt 252, Arda Smara), 9269 (Krt 351, Arda Smara), 9657 (Krt 1150), 10.406 (= BCB prtf 3 = 5100-IV), 9107 (Krt 50, Bagawan Pañarikan), 11.098.

11.340 Daṅḍaṅ Baṅbuṅalan lessons:

cod. 5073, 9179 (Krt 169), 9290 (Krt 407),

9586 (Krt 1036), 10.224 (Krt 2287), 9685 (Krt 1199, Saptati).

11.350 Bhima Swarga lessons:

cod. 3654 (= 4625 = 4626 = 10.428 = BCB prtf 4).

11.360 Kaṇḍa 'mpat, Kaṇḍa Pitu, compendiums of religious lore, speculations on genesis:

cod. 9242 (Krt 281), 9265 (Krt 332), 9274 (Krt 362), 9332 (Krt 500), 9336 (Krt 505), 9357 (Krt 558), 9362 (Krt 574), 9598 (Krt 1051), 9782 (Krt 1432), 10.054 (Krt 1980), 11.024, AdKIT 1646/34.

11.370 *Tuturs* on cosmogony, with some influence of Islam:

cod. 9125 (Krt 77, Buwana Mabah), 9170 (Krt 154, Wariṅin Suṅsaṅ), 9257 (Krt 322, Purwa Bumi Kamulan), 9275 (Krt 363, Buwana Maréka), 9295 (Krt 414, Hari Dharma, Durga), 9528 (Krt 929, Purwaka Bumi), 9870 (Krt 1606, Purwa Kamimitan), 10.021 (Krt 1917, Mula Jati niṅ Kawitan), 10.813 (Krt 1545, Caṅṭiṅ Kuniṅ), 11.102 (Purwa Bumi Kamulan, Purwa Bumi Tuwa).

11.380 Recent treatises on Indian religion and Buddhism:

cod. 9291 (Krt 408, Buddha Gotama), 9381 (Krt 620, Pakēm Gama Tirtha), 9411 (Krt 690, Hindu Tatwa), 10.072 (Krt 2017, Cita Yoni, from Lombok).

11.380 Kalimahośada, compendium of religious speculation (cf. 40.140):

cod. 3928 (= 10.457), 5210, 5218, 9557 (Krt 987), 9784 (Krt 1435, Kërta Samaya).

11.400 Treatises on ritual and offerings.

In Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese religion ritual and offerings (see 11.000, group B) were of the utmost importance. In present-day Bali priests perform daily rites

in accordance with strict rules. The esoteric significance of many rites of worship, with incantations and mantras addressed to the gods, seems to be the daily repeated confirmation of Eternal Order encompassing macrocosmos and microcosmos. Moreover Balinese priests are invited by the laity to be officiants in special religious ceremonies in the temples, closely connected with social order. Occasionally priests officiate also in private ceremonies connected with the stages of human life and death. Especially the various funeral rites, with cremation as the centre of interest, are important in the religious life of the Balinese. It is a remarkable fact that in Javanese-Balinese texts on ritual the cult of idols of the gods seems to be mentioned nowhere. In Balinese worship idols are not important (cf. 10.000, conclusion).

On Balinese religion, especially on the aspects of ceremonies, cremations and rites of worship, a number of books have been written by European and American scholars, who were interested in the remarkably complex ritual, and fascinated by the splendour of the festivals, with music, dancing and a display of offerings. Dr C. Hooykaas' "Āgama "Tirtha" (Amsterdam 1964) contains references to older books and studies on the subject. See also his "Sūrya Sévana", and "Stava and Stuti", and Swellengrebel's "In "Memoriam Dr Roelof Goris" (BKI vol. 122, 1966), which contains a bibliography compiled by R. S. Karni.

Whereas modern Balinese religious rites can still be observed and studied, reliable information on Old Javanese ritual is scarce. Javanese-Balinese texts dealing with ritual and offerings are well-known, but it is diffi-

cult to ascertain whether their origin really is Old Javanese. Probably several Javanese-Balinese treatises on the subject were written in Bali in a relatively recent period. Old Javanese and present-day Balinese religious ritual should not be put on a par at the outset.

Recital of incantations, hymns of the gods and mantras are an important element of religious ritual. In this part of the ritual it is possible to make a distinction between Śiwaïtic and other hymns and prayers. Manuscripts mainly containing texts of recited incantations, hymns etc. have been registered separately under 12.000 ff. Many Javanese-Balinese compendiums are collections of notes on religious rites in general, however. No distinction is made between notes on the ritual proper, the sequence of the religious rites to be performed, and the texts of the incantations, hymns and mantras to be recited.

Under the present head manuscripts mainly containing information on various religious rites and offerings of Śiwaïtic origin have been collected. Some Buddhist texts have been registered separately in 11.700 ff. No attempt has been made to distinguish between really Old Javanese texts and Javanese-Balinese texts of a later date, because a reliable criterion is lacking. A distinction has been made between Javanese-Balinese collections of loose notes on ritual and some compendiums which have proper titles (*Pulutuk*, *Putru*). W. Kern's thesis "Oud Javaansche en Balische Helle-voor-"stelingen" (1934) contains discussions of parts of these texts. Ritual is the main subject of Dr Hooykaas' studies on Balinese religion. The age of the compendiums is

unknown, though it seems probable that the majority was written by Balinese scholars of the Kluṅkuṅ period, after 1650 A.D.

In Part Three, Belles-Lettres, of the present Synopsis (30.275 ff.) some poems probably connected with ancient myths and ritual have been registered.

In the General Index manuscripts providing information on the subject have been registered under the catchwords *ritual*, *funeral offices*, *offerings*, and *ancestor worship*.

11.410 Javanese-Balinese notes on divine worship in general:

cod. 3607 (= 4198), 3727, 4675, 5117, 5141 (= 10.568 = BCB prtf 66), 5163, 5180 (= 10.604 = BCB prtf 69), 5194, 5234, 5356, 5389, 9076 (Krt 3, Arga Patra), 9103 (Krt 46, Suci Laksana), 9132 (Krt 87, Arga Patra), 9122 (Krt 73, Arga Dhyātmika), 9215 (Krt 230, Pawintēnan), 9216 (Krt 232, Śiwa-Buddha), 9341 (Krt 513, Padanan), 9350 (Krt 535, Śiwa-Buddha), 9717 (Krt 1291, Paṅḃkēban), 11.099, CB 103 (Arga Patra).

11.420 Treatises on ritual, *puja*:

cod. 3703 (= 4429, Puja Parikrama), 9303 (Puja notes, Krt 446), 9485 (Krt 836, Tata niṅ Askara), 9798 (Puja Padudus Agur, purification, Krt 1457), 9849 (Krt 1572, Pabērsihan saṅ wiku), 11.101.

11.430 Sūrya Séwana, worship of śiwāditya:

cod. 9213 (Krt 228), 9247 (Krt 298, Anuṣṭhāna bwat Sora), 9789 (Krt 1441, Kalēpanan), 10.184 (Krt 2219), 3932-IV (= 10.410).

11.440 Ritual referring to death, disposal of the dead, funeral rites, deliverance (*ka-moksan*) of the deceased:

cod. 3615, 4673, 4674, 4676, 4677, 5063

(= 10.436 = BCB prtf 5), 5079, 5119, 5169, 5240, 5267 (= 10.591 = BCB prtf 67), 5342 (Aṣṭi Wédana), 5367, 9283 (Krt 383, Lumah iṅ Sunya Darma), 9716 (Krt 1290, Pratéka niṅ Mati Kacacar), 9802 (Krt 1468, Nawaṅ Rum), 10.182 (Krt 2214, Śiwa Tatwa Purana), CB 106, CB 116.

11.450 Ritual, requisites and offerings pertaining to funeral offices and ancestor worship:

cod. 9093 (Krt 33, Puja Mamukur), 9095 (Krt 36, Pitē Puja), 9119 (Krt 69, Kajaṅ Puja Pitē), 9120 (Krt 71, Maligya), 9131 (Krt 86, Baḃawar, Nala), 9145 (Krt 102, Pitē Kinaranan), 9261 (Krt 328, Surat Kajaṅ), 9775 (Krt 1423, Pitē Puja).

11.460 Ritual connected with purification and exorcism:

cod. 5323, 5413, 5435 b, 9101 (Krt 44, Roga Saṅara Bumi, Widi Sastra), 9177 (Krt 166, Marisuda Gumi aṅapuh-ṅapuh), 9486 (Krt 838, Siwi Karana), 9539 (Krt 946, Wéda Saṅguhu), 9677 (Krt 1196 b, Roga Saṅara Bumi), 9678 (Krt 1196 c, Roga Saṅara Bumi, Widi Sastra), 9679 (Krt 1196 d, Widi Sastra), 9837 (Krt 1537, Widi Sastra), 10.003 (Krt 1877, Paṅupakara Désa Kamaranan), 10.011 (Krt 1889, Pamahayuniṅ Aṅḃa Kacacar), 10.204 (Krt 2251, Pamarisuda Désa Kamaranan), CB 76, CB 113 (Widi Sastra Roga Saṅara Bumi), Rt Gem Bbl 55 D 2 (Muslim influence).

11.470 Ritual connected with exorcism and white magic, Dipa Mala:

cod. 5376 (= BCB prtf 7), 5386, 9239 (Krt 277).

11.480 Ritual connected with incantations and offerings, Puja Daha (*pamaṅkus*):

cod. 9094 (Krt 35), 9574 (Krt 1020), 9666 (Krt 1186, Puja Pañca Bali Krama), 9496 (Krt 864, Aji Pari, rice), 9175 (Krt 162, Baka Bumi, agriculture).

11.490 Ritual connected with Wiṣṇu worship:

cod. 10.167 (Krt 2192, Sasi Winisnu Nama), 11.100, RtMLV 19615 (Puja Kṣatriya).

11.500 Ritual connected with offerings:

cod. 5238 (= 5252), 5313, 5385, 5412, 5432, 9097 (Krt 39, Puja Caru Suci).

11.510 Pu Lutuk, Pulutuk, Plutuk, ritual and offerings connected with the soul's wanderings in the world beyond the grave:

cod. 3947, 4430, 5199, 5346, 5377, 9084 (Krt 18), 9494 (Krt 862), 9516 (Krt 904), 9626 (Krt 1104), 9946 (Krt 1733), 10.064 (Krt 1991), 11.103.

11.520 Putru Pasaji, ritual and offerings with reference to the world beyond the grave:

cod. 5132, 9178 (Krt 167), 9851 (Krt 1575), 5174-III (= 10.422).

11.530 Putru Kalēpasan, Putru Saṅaskara, ritual and offerings with reference to the soul's wanderings in the world beyond the grave:

cod. 5348, 9149 (Krt 107), 9345 (Krt 525), 10.001 (Krt 1865 = CB 110).

11.540 Pasasayutan, ritual and offerings offered with special intentions:

cod. 9367 (Krt 587), 9977 (Krt 1803), 10.020 (Krt 1916, Sasayut iṅ woṅ agriṅ).

11.550 Ritual and offerings, miscellaneous notes:

cod. 5327 (on dakṣinā, the priest's fee), 9279 (Krt 371, Sata Pini), 9323 (Krt 488, Saṅgaran), 9352 (Krt 537, Widi Tuwut), 9408 (Krt 686, Tatwa Kāla), 9435 (Krt 740, Pratama niṅ Caru), 9676 (Krt 1196 a,

Sri Jaya Kasunu), 9976 (Krt 1802, Yajña Dāna), 10.022 (Krt 1918, Yajña Prakrēti), 10.295 (Krt 2388, Sarwa Bantēn), 3875-II (Krama niṅ Homādhyātmika = 10.430 = BCB prt 5), CB 68, CB 97.

11.560 Ritual marks, Bhasma Tiga:

cod. 5435 d-IV, 9409 (Krt 687).

11.570 Temples and divine worship, *ṣaman-kus*:

cod. 5142 (Aji Kul Putih), 9099 (Krt 41, Caṇḍi Darma), 9212 (Krt 226, Kusuma Déwa Purana), 9298 (Krt 420, Kul Putih), 9307 (Krt 450, Widi Sastra), 9690 (Krt 1218, Sad Kayaṅan), 9718 (Krt 1298, Kul Piṅé), 9877 (Krt 1613, Kawruhan Kusuma Déwa), 10.008 (Krt 1882, Sari niṅ Galuṅan), 10.024 (Krt 1920, Liṅga niṅ Kusuma Déwa).

11.580 Various offerings:

cod. 9100 (Krt 42, Caru Magiṅsir), 9152 (Krt 112, Caru Sasi), 9393 (Krt 653, Janma Prawērti), 9555 (Krt 983, Caru Bébas), 9997 (Krt 1861, Ḍukuh Bañol).

11.590 Pollution and desecration:

cod. 9205 (Krt 210, Manak Salah), 9440 (Krt 746, Catur Pātaka, Catur Cuntaka).

11.600 Ritual with reference to inauspicious periods:

cod. 9116 (Krt 60, Pamarisudan Ala niṅ Diwasa), 9560 (Krt 992, Cuntaka Graha Mantra), 9847 (Krt 1569, Pamarisudan iṅ Akirim Waṅké).

11.610 Divine worship in temples, Déwa Tatwa:

cod. 9088 (Krt 26), 9249 (Krt 301, Korawa Prasada), 9313 (Krt 460, Karya riṅ Gunuṅ Aguṅ), 9427 (Krt 720, Pañca Pada), 9473 (Krt 815, Kaṇḍa Sasana), 9628 (Krt 1106, Muṅkah Paryaṅan), 9675 (Krt 1196), 9740 (Krt 1338).

11.620 Karya Yajña Cakra Nagara, ritual of Lombok:

cod. 9080 (Krt 12).

11.630 Krama niṅ Sēmbah, on worship and behaviour:

cod. 9400 (Krt 668), 9441 (Krt 748), 10.188 (Krt 2223).

11.640 Kaputusan Rēsi Gana, on ritual etc.:

cod. 9157 (Krt 128), 9355 (Krt 548).

11.650 Propitiatory offerings with reference to divination:

cod. 9087 (Krt 25, Swamaṇḍala), 9270 (Krt 353, Surya Maṇḍala), 9652 (Krt 1162 a, Swamaṇḍala), 9655 (Krt 1162 d, Swamaṇḍala), 9680 (Krt 1196 e, Yama Tatwa), 9681 (Krt 1196 f, Swamaṇḍala).

11.660 Yama Tatwa, ritual and offerings connected with funeral offices:

cod. 9096 (Krt 37 = CB 96), 9210 (Krt 223, Widi Sastra Yama Purwa Tatwa), 9263 (Krt 330), 9641 (Krt 1166), 10.251 (Krt 2325), 10.252 (Krt 2326).

11.700 Treatises on Buddhist ritual (still group B, 11.000). In Javanese-

Balinese religious literature purely Buddhist texts are scarce. Several compendiums contain sparse notes on Buddhist rites and mantras, though. References to such texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *Buddhism*.

The best known Javanese-Balinese text on Buddhist ritual, *Buddha Wéda*, has been studied by Sylvain Lévi ("Sanskrit Texts "from Bali", Baroda, 1933). See also: Hooykaas, "Āgama Tīrtha" (1964). Though the present text seems to have been written in Bali it probably has an Old Javanese prototype dating from an early period of Javanese cultural history.

11.710 Buddha Wéda, Buddhist funeral ritual:

cod. 4165, 10.206 (Krt 2255).

11.720 Puja Purwaka, Buddhist daily ritual:

cod. 9310 (Krt 453), 10.168 (Krt 2193, Wéda Purwaka).

11.730 Buddhist funeral ritual:

cod. 9314 (Krt 464, Sawa Wédana = CB 70), 9657 (Krt 1168, Sawa Wédana), 10.159 (Krt 2178, Puja Narpana Sawa).

11.800 Divine Worship, mantras, slokas and hymns, Incantations, Exorcism and Devotion (group C, 11.000).

Mantras, hymns and incantations are essential elements in Javanese-Balinese divine worship as performed by ordained priests. The texts used by the priests of the various denominations are not identical, and for some religious ceremonies, e.g. cremations and purifications, special rites with special incantations are required. Rules on those matters are found in the treatises on ritual which have been registered under the pre-

ceding head. Unfortunately Javanese-Balinese texts on ritual and religious worship often are unsystematically arranged. Evidently the ordained priests, knowing their own daily ritual by heart, were not interested in systematic descriptions. Dr Hooykaas ("Āgama Tīrtha") has made a first attempt to establish order in the manuscripts containing texts on ritual.

In accordance with the custom of Javanese-

Balinese scholars, in the present Synopsis the term *mantra* is mainly used as an indication of short sequences of sounds or syllables of the type of the well-known AUM, Sa Ba Ta A I, Na Ma Śi Wa Ya. The term *śloka* is used for Sanskrit verses in the well-known metre. As a rule they contain speculative maxims on the nature of the gods, their places in macrocosmic and microcosmic order, etc. They are mostly followed by Old Javanese or Javanese-Balinese paraphrases or commentaries. Due to clerical errors many Sanskrit ślokas in Javanese-Balinese religious literature are corrupt and difficult to understand.

Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese scholars were familiar with the śloka metre and, having at their disposal a considerable *copia verborum Sanscritorum* pertaining to religion, they made Sanskrit ślokas themselves for use in religious texts. Apparently in the priests' mind ślokas enhanced the venerability. Sanskrit ślokas made in Java and Bali are often recognizable by faulty grammar, or even the absence of grammatical forms. In the authors' native languages grammatical forms of the Sanskrit type were unknown.

In the present Synopsis the term hymn is used to indicate Sanskrit poems, mostly in śloka metre, in praise of individual gods and goddesses. In Sanskrit they are called *stava* or *stuti*. In Javanese-Balinese priestly ritual they occupied an important place. Probably some Sanskrit hymns are in fact of Indian origin; Old Javanese or Javanese-Balinese imitations seem to preponderate, however (see Hooykaas, "Stava and Stuti").

The term incantation is used in the present Synopsis in a rather wide sense, namely as a collective name of various Javanese rhythmic

prose texts, poetical songs or hymns addressed to gods, goddesses or spirits. All Javanese incantations have a religious background. They are in a way comparable with Islamic and Christian ritual prayers. At the same time they often are closely connected with magic, being used in magic practices. A special kind of incantation referring to local spirits etc. survived in Java for a long time even in the Islamic period. Apparently that kind of song, called *kidun*, appealed to ancient indigenous religious sentiment (see 15.600). Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese incantations and related texts have been registered under the next head.

Under the present head Javanese-Balinese manuscripts mainly containing Sanskrit texts: mantras, ślokas and hymns, recited in the course of rites performed by ordained priests, have been collected (group C, see 11.000). As usual the manuscripts contain much more. Relations with magic practices are evident. The manuscripts are books of notes on all matters of divine worship which are important for Balinese priests. In many cases a connection between notes succeeding each other in a compendium seems to be lacking. Intimate acquaintance with the priestly ritual is needed for acquiring a thorough understanding of this group of Javanese-Balinese religious texts.

In the General Index manuscripts containing relevant texts are registered under the catchwords *mantra*, *śloka*, *stava* and *stuti*.

11.810 Javanese-Balinese notes on divine worship with references to Sanskrit mantras and ślokas:

cod. 3189, 3603 (= 4711 = 10.576 = BCB prtf 66), 3744 (Aṣṭaka Mantra),

3873, 5145 (= 10.581 = BCB prtf 67), 5159, 5201, 5249, 5253 (= 10.570 = BCB prtf 66), 5258, 5319, 5420, 5422, 9112 (Krt 56, Mantra Parèmbon), 9123 (Krt 74, Aṣṭaka Mantra), 9130 (Krt 84, Astra Mantra), 9442 (Krt 750, Mantra niṣ Macaniga), 9504 (Krt 883, Ātma Rakṣa Mantra), 9515 (Krt 903, Mantra Paidēr-idēran), 9769 (Krt 1409, Gagēlaran Mantra), 9776 (Krt 1424, Śiwa Samūha), REM 849-1.

11.820 Sanskrit hymns in praise of gods, stawa, stuti :

cod. 5227, 5264, 5291, 5317 (Durga Stuti), 9865 (Krt 1600, Rudra Kawaca), 5361, 5369, 5424, 9165 (Krt 147, Kuṇṭi Yajñā), 9192 (Krt 189, Dwijendra), 9985 (Krt 1843, Astawa Mantra), BCB prtf 43 B (Sylvain Lévy collection).

11.830 Sanskrit śloka, hymns without Javanese explanations :

cod. 3836 (Wēda, Gaṅgā hymn), 5395 (Rudra Kawaca), 5435 d V, 9907 (Krt 1673, Pūja Stawa).

12.000 Javanese-Balinese incantations and prayers addressed to various Indian gods and goddesses are found in several compendiums and books of notes, which also contain Sanskrit śloka and hymns (see the preceding paragraphs, group C, 11.000). In fact it often is difficult to make a clear distinction.

Incantations referring to a variety of spirits of local importance are also found in the same books of notes. Some incantation texts contain passages which show influence of Islam.

Many incantations show some relationship with magic. In the present Synopsis, notes

on magic have been registered in Part Four, 40.250. The reason why incantations, though probably often used for special purposes in the same way as magic formulas and practices, are still registered in the present Part One, is their original function in divine worship. In 15.500, which deals with Islamic prayers, in Arabic, the same double use of prayer texts, in religious devotion and in downright magic practice, is mentioned. In 15.600 Javanese incantations of the Islamic period, comparable with the present Javanese-Balinese incantations, will be discussed.

Several Javanese-Balinese incantations also are used in exorcist rites. Exorcist texts have been registered separately under one of the next heads (12.400).

Some Javanese-Balinese songs, poems in indigenous or Indian metres referring to religious speculation, have been registered under 12.800. They are often called *aji* (lesson, lore). In a way they are comparable with mystic poems, called *suluks* (songs), belonging to the Islamic period of Javanese cultural history. Perhaps occasionally certain Javanese-Balinese *ajis* were sung in meetings of religiously minded people. Some relationship between those religious songs and the present incantations seems probable.

Under the present head Javanese-Balinese incantation texts of various kinds, addressed to Indian gods, goddesses and native spirits are collected. The age of the texts is very difficult to ascertain. It is not improbable that some incantations addressed to spirits, or referring to them, contain elements of pristine indigenous Javanese, Balinese or Sasak belief. The existence of some relationship between ancient religious concepts and

practices on the one hand, and some Javanese children's games and still living folk-lore and superstitions of the countryside on the other, is suggested in 43.750.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts are registered in the General Index under the catchword *incantation*.

12.010 Javanese-Balinese incantations mainly addressed to Indian gods and goddesses, often combined with ślokas and mantras, *kūṭas*:

cod. 3695 (= 3967-II, Prayoga saṅ hyaṅ Lokanātha), 3843, 5143, 5148, 5155 (= 10.572 = BCB prtf 66), 5156, 5158, 5160, 5191, 5236, 5247, 5260, 5272, 5273, 5277, 5290, 5306 (= 10.573 = BCB prtf 66), 5307 (= 10.574 = BCB prtf 66), 5308 (= 10.575 = BCB prtf 66), 5310, 5311 (= 10.578 = BCB prtf 66), 5318, 5320, 5321, 5322 (Garudéya), 5325, 5330, 5332, 5333, 5334, 5338, 5341, 5357, 5359, 5360, 5366, 5391, 5396, 5402, 5411, 5414, 5423, 5431, 5433, 5434, 5435 d-4, 9230 (Krt 263, Dasa Kaṇḍa), 9302 (Krt 444, Agni Wirocana), 9343 (Krt 517, Bima Sakti), 9424 (Krt 712, Maha Padma), 9505 (Krt 885, Aji Candra Bérawa), 9506 (Krt 887, Daśa Bāyu), 9507 (Krt 888, Prayoga Japa), 9519 (Krt 913, Ambal Manik Patarana Intěn), 9542 (Krt 951, Maha Padma Jaba Jěro), 9559 (Krt 991, Paśupati Mantra), 9567 (Krt 1007, Aji Purwa Waṅi), 9756 (Krt 1384, Kaputusan Krēsna), 9765 (Krt 1404, saṅ hyaṅ Paśupati Agni), CB 47 (Pamuṅkah Wéda), BCB prtf 43 B, KITLV Or 46.

12.020 Incantations mainly referring to spirits, partly of native origin:

cod. 3776 (= 10.415 = BCB prtf 3), 5151, 5181, 5192, 5209 (= 7224 = BCB

prtf 69), 5219, 5314, 5339, 5390, 5410, 5416, 5428, 5429, 5435 a, 5435 d-IV/V, 9340 (Krt 512, Mantra Satus), 9816 (Krt 1494, Kukul Aṅgasti), 10.023 (Krt 1919, Paṅundaṅ Babayi), 10.083 (Krt 2046, Kaputusan Catur Kaṇḍa), RtMLV 26484.

12.030 Incantations or prayers showing influence of Islam:

cod. 5205, 5206, 5261 (= 10.577 = BCB prtf 66), 5315, 5417, 9258 (Krt 325, Aji Béliyas, Kiduṅ Ruměksa iṅ Wěṅi), 9665 (Krt 1185, Kiduṅ Ruměksa iṅ Wěṅi), 10.176 (Krt 2207, Baṅkruk).

12.035 The oath formula Pamastu niṅ Cor:
cod. 3903-II, 3987-III (= 10.449 = BCB prtf 7), 4367, 9204 (Krt 209, Aricandana)

12.040 Incantations in verse, lullabies:

cod. 9391 (Krt 649, Cacaṅkriman Panuṇḍuṅ Wisya).

12.050 Incantations and religious speculation, partly referring to women:

cod. 4492 (Smara Buwana), 9167 (Krt 149, Smara Buwana), 9264 (Krt 331, Paramopadeśa), 9510 (Krt 896, Sari niṅ Pamutus), 9582 (Krt 1030, Smara Buwana), 10.057 (Krt 1983, Ratna Upadéśa), 10.209 (Krt 2258, Aji Pura Ganda Smara).

12.060 Incantation referring to consecration:

cod. 9288 (Krt 397, Mantra niṅ Amėras).

12.070 Incantation and exorcism:

cod. 9251 (Krt 306, Panugrahan Baṭara riṅ Pura Pulaki).

12.080 Incantation, redemption of vows:

cod. 9790 (Krt 1442, Krama niṅ Amėgat Sot).

12.200 Yoga and Samādhi (still group C, 11.000). In Javanese-Balinese religious rites various kinds of *yoga* occupy an

important place. *Yoga* methods are practised by officiant priests in order to establish contact with the divine Presence and Eternal Order. Often *samādhi*, concentration, and *yoga* are combined. In many compendiums and books of notes on religious ritual *yoga* practices are mentioned. Interrelationship between *yoga* and magic practices is evident.

Under the present head some manuscripts containing mainly texts on *yoga* and *samādhi* have been collected. As usual the books also contain notes on other matters.

Manuscripts containing relevant text have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *yoga* and *samādhi*.

12.210 Javanese-Balinese notes on *yoga* practices, Prayoga niṣ Sādhaka:

cod. 5070 (= 10.580 = BCB prtf 67), 5112, 5114 (= 10.419 = BCB prtf 3), 5116, 5153 (= 10.600 = BCB prtf 69), 5165 (= 10.582 = BCB prtf 67), 5309, 5312, 9129 (Krt 81, Yoganira saṅ Sādhaka), 9211 (Krt 225, Yoga Sandi), 9423 (Krt 711, Yoga Nidra), 9530 (Krt 931, Sarira Tatwa), 9576 (Krt 1023, Yoga Catur Dēwata), KITLV Or 329.

12.220 Treatises on *samādhi*:

cod. 9446 (Krt 757, Janma Rahasya, Budhist), 9495 (Krt 863, Aditya Rēdaya), 10.082 (Krt 2045, Tatwa Samadi), 10.089 (Krt 2052, Darma Jati), 10.285 (Krt 2374, Samadi Laksana).

12.230 Ganda Pura Pēṭak, on *yoga* and akṣaras:

cod. 9231 (Krt 265), 9670 (Krt 1195).

12.400 Javanese-Balinese exorcism (still group C, 11.000). In Javanese-Balinese religious practice various exorcist rites were in use. The possibility of averting

evil influences and prohibiting bad spirits to do harm was generally accepted. As a rule exorcist rites were supposed to have that effect by disclosing the mythic origin of the demon who was believed to bring misfortune or to cause unhappiness. In Java and Bali the rites have a generic name: *lukat* or *ruwat*, words which convey the idea of loosening and delivering. Exorcist rites probably belong to an early period of the history of Javanese and Balinese culture. It is not known, however, how old the texts in the present manuscripts are.

In Bali the fear of *léyaks*, malignant spirits, is great. There is no clear evidence of *léyak* belief in Java; Java was haunted by spirits and spooks known under other names. In Bali *léyak* belief and concomitant exorcist rites seem to have occupied a more important place in religious life than comparable ideas and practices did in Java, either in the pre-Islamic period or afterwards. Barada is the mythic exorcist priest and witch-doctor par excellence, and Calon Araṅ is the mythic witch. The Old Javanese Calon Araṅ text has been registered in Part Three, Belles-Lettres (30.226).

Javanese exorcist texts, closely connected with the wayaṅ theatre, will be discussed in 31.190.

Under the present head Javanese-Balinese texts mainly referring to exorcist practices of various kinds have been collected. Compendiums of religious ritual and books on magic (see 40.370 and 40.400) sometimes also contain notes on exorcism.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Barada*, *exorcism*, *Calon Araṅ*, *léyak*, *lukat*, *ruwat*.

12.410 Javanese-Balinese texts on exorcism:

cod. 3599 (= 4678), 3702 (= 3916), 4621, 4714 (= 10.416 = BCB prtf 3), 5282, 5355, 5392, 9299 (Krt 432, Guru Sumēḍar, Tala), 9306 (Krt 449, Brahma Tiga Kalis), 9438 (Krt 744, Paṇḍar, Léyak), 9517 (Krt 908, Kuṇṭi Sraya), AdKIT A 4846/a.

12.420 Exorcist ritual, Paṇlukatan:

cod. 9248 (Krt 300, Puja Asmara Kusuma), 9342 (Krt 516), 9602 (Krt 1057), 10.248 (Krt 2321, Paṇruwatan).

12.430 Kaputusan Calon Araṇ, demonology:

cod. 9085 (Krt 21, Prayoganira saṇ Sādaka), 9767 (Krt 1407).

12.440 Campur Talo, on exorcism and léyak:

cod. 9222 (Krt 251), 9309 (Krt 452), 9566 (Krt 1005), 9754 (Krt 1378), 9793 (Krt 1445), 9820 Krt 1498).

12.450 Caṇḍi Kuṇiṇ, Caṇḍi Mas, léyak exorcism:

cod. 9305 (Krt 488), 9753 (Krt 1370).

12.460 Cēmpaka Gadaṇ, léyak exorcism:

cod. 9550 (Krt 969).

12.470 Cēpa Kala, exorcist text:

cod. 9335 (Krt 504).

12.480 Incantations and exorcism:

cod. 9266 (Krt 335, Maharaja Kuṇḍa), 9317 (Krt 482, Brahma Kuṇḍa Wijaya), 9434 (Krt 738, Kēṛta Kuṇḍa Wijaya).

12.490 Pamatuh, conciliation of spirits:

cod. 9757 (Krt 1385), 9794 (Krt 1447, Paṇasih Tawaṇ Alun), 9873 (Krt 1609), 9967 (Krt 1771, Pamatuh Pañca Paṇḍawa).

12.500 Tatwa Parimbon, compendium on exorcism, etc.

cod. 6524 (KBG *cod.* 181).

12.600 Devotional practice, tapa brata (still group C, 11.000). In Java in the pre-Islamic period, and in Bali, both ecclesiastics and laymen, to a certain extent, organized their lives according to religious rules. Regulations referring to religious devotion, fasting and forbidden food were observed with more or less strictness.

Regular lawbooks concerning ecclesiastics have been registered in Part Four of the Synopsis (47.010). Those books contain regulations referring to the ecclesiastics' social life, but also occasionally some paragraphs pertaining to religious observances.

Several moralistic texts referring to virtuous behaviour in general, which in the Synopsis have been registered under 13.400, show some relationship with treatises on devotional practice.

Under the present head manuscripts containing texts on devotional practices, fasting, asceticism etc. have been collected. As usual the manuscripts also contain notes on related matters.

Relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *brata*, *tapa brata* and *devotion*.

12.610 Javanese-Balinese treatises on devotional practice, tapa brata:

cod. 4685 (= 10.456 = BCB prtf 7), 5042, 5220 (= 10.605 = BCB prtf 69), 5363, 5400, 9394 (Krt 655, Indik Brata), 10.002 (Krt 1875, Aji Brata), 10.293 (Krt 2386, Brata).

12.620 Pabratan, on *brata*, fasting etc.:

cod. 3700 (= 4357), 4358, 5041, CB 73.

12.630 Pandēwāśrayan, devotional practices:

cod. 9597 (Krt 1050).

12.640 Drawa Puruṣa Praméya, Raga Runṭiṇ's lessons on devotion (cf. 13.800):

cod. 5216, 5217.

12.650 Tatwa Brata, on devotion, fasting etc.:

cod. 9475 (Krt 817), 9673 (Krt 1195 c).

12.800 Religious poetry, religious songs. Javanese-Balinese authors wrote a number of poems in various metres referring to religious speculation, gods located in the limbs of the human body, etc. (group C, 11.000). As a rule they are called *aji* (lesson, lore). They seem remotely comparable with the well-known mystic poems, called *suluks* (songs), which belong to the Islamic period of Javanese cultural history. Perhaps occasionally in Bali certain Javanese-Balinese *ajis* were sung in meetings of religiously minded people, like the *suluks* in Muslim Java (see 14.900).

It is difficult to ascertain the origin of Javanese-Balinese religious songs. Perhaps they had Old Javanese prototypes, but probable models in Old Javanese literature are scarce.

Some relationship between the present Javanese-Balinese religious songs and incantations of the kind as mentioned in 12.000 seems likely. In 12.000 it has been suggested that occasionally incantations (comparable with ritual prayers) may have been sung in ceremonies performed with a defi-

nite purpose in view, to be reached by magic means. Perhaps the same supposition is applicable to the present Javanese-Balinese songs.

In the General Index relevant texts have been registered under the catchword *aji*, though only part of the *ajis* are religious songs. Several *ajis* are speculative tuturs or didactic treatises.

12.810 Aji Paṅukiran, Javanese-Balinese religious poem in *tēḡahan* metre:

cod. 3961 (= 10.474 = BCB prtf 12), 9633 (Krt 1121, Sēbun Baṅkuṅ), 3859-II (= 10.475 = BCB prtf 12).

12.820 Aji Kēmbarṅ, in Indian metre:

cod. 3859 (= 10.518 = BCB prtf 24), 3192-II (= BCB prtf 164).

12.830 Alis-alis Ijo, incantation:

cod. 3636, 3923, 3971 (= 10.476 = BCB prtf 12), 4014.

12.840 Rurub Kajaṅ, Tumpaṅ Salu, in Indian metres:

cod. 3946, 3973.

12.850 Saptoraṅkāra, Old Javanese hymn in Indian metre:

cod. 3976-II, -III, -IV (= BCB prtf 23).

12.860 Saraswati hymn in Indian metre:

cod. CB 65, BCB prtf 26 (Krt 989).

12.870 Manmatha hymn, Madanodaya, Lambaṅ Salukat, in Indian metre:

cod. 3810-V (= 3992-V), 5246.

13.000 Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese Moralistic Literature

(group D, 11.000).

In Javanese literature, both pre-Islamic and Islamic, a distinction is to be made between moralistic and didactic texts on the one side and texts dealing with religious

speculation and in some way connected with divine worship on the other. Probably moralistic and didactic texts were read by all cultured men and women, both ecclesiastics

and laymen, whereas special religious literature was reserved for the clergy. Many religious texts were even scrupulously kept secret, or at least clergymen were recommended to do so. In the preceding paragraphs Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese religious literature belonging to the pre-Islamic period has been discussed. After 1500 A.D., roughly speaking, Javanese divines who did not emigrate to Bali turned away from the old religious texts, henceforth devoting their time to the study of Islamic theology, mysticism and religious law. The old texts survived in Bali and in the new environment they developed into Javanese-Balinese religious literature.

Probably at an early time in the pre-Islamic period Indian moralistic and didactic texts, both Buddhist and Śīwaitic, were re-written in Old Javanese. These Old Javanese adaptations of selections from famous Sanskrit compendiums of tales, especially *Pañcatantra*, acquired a great popularity. They were imitated and repeatedly versified in Javanese metres. Unlike the speculative, ritual and devotional Old Javanese texts, these pre-Islamic moralistic tales and maxims partly survived Java's conversion to Islam in the sixteenth century. In the Islamic period of Javanese literature adaptations and imitations of old moralistic and didactic texts continued to be read. In Javanese-Balinese literature those texts had a special development, growing into a flourishing branch of Belles-Lettres.

Javanese and Javanese-Balinese adaptations and imitations of old moralistic and didactic tales have been registered, as belletristic edifying poetry, in 30.275 - 30.310. Their relegation to Part Three, Belles-

Lettres, of the Synopsis seems justified by their poetic character. Using complicated metres and apparently meant to be sung, the connection of those Javanese-Balinese Tantri poems with religious devotional and moralistic literature seems slight.

In the present Part One, Religion and Ethics, Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese moralistic and didactic texts of Indian origin, or based on Indian models, have been collected (group D, 11.000). On account of the Indian origin a distinction can be made between Buddhist and Siwaitic (or non-Buddhist) texts. In Indian literature Buddhist *Jātaka* tales are well-known, but in Old Javanese literature the term *Jātaka* is not used.

Under the present head some Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese Buddhist edifying texts have been registered. On account of their Buddhist character some of them attracted the attention of Dutch scholars. The *Kuñjara Karna* text was edited and translated by professor Kern, the *Bubukṣa* tale was discussed and explained by Dr Rassers. The text of the *Kuñjara Karna* legend probably is not very old. A version in Indian metres has been registered in Part Three, Belles-Lettres (30.113). The *Bubukṣa* text is still younger, it certainly belongs to Javanese-Balinese literature.

The Old Javanese poem *Sutasoma* or *Puruṣāda śānta* is based on an Indian Buddhist edifying tale, or at least connected with such a text. Belonging to the category of Old Javanese belletristic poems written in Indian metres, it has been registered in Part Three (30.130).

In the General Index manuscripts containing relevant texts have been listed under

the catchword *Buddhist*.

13.010 Buddhist edifying legend Kuñjara Karna, Old Javanese prose:

cod. 2266, 3652 (= 4276), 3854-II (= 10.463 = BCB prtf 8), 3974, 4277.

13.020 Bubuksa-Gagan Akin, Buddhist edifying legend, Javanese-Balinese poem:

cod. 3918, 4164 (= BCB prtf 12), 5038.

13.100 Old Javanese moralistic maxims (still group D, 11.000). In Old Javanese religious, moralistic, epic and juridical literature quotations from Sanskrit texts, often in the form of *ślokas*, are frequent. In the paragraphs of the present Part One which deal with texts on religious speculation etc. (10.000 ff.) the appearance of *ślokas* has been mentioned many times. In manuscripts registered in Part Two, Epics, and Part Four, Law, there is also a great number of quotations from Sanskrit texts which served as models for the Javanese authors. The largest quantity of Sanskrit *ślokas* in any kind of Old Javanese literature is probably found in moralistic and didactic texts, however.

The great mass of moralistic and didactic maxims in the form of *ślokas* available in Sanskrit literature induced Javanese scholars to make compilations, with Old Javanese translations or paraphrases. Probably the oldest collection dates from an early period of Javanese literary history. It is called Sāra Samuccaya (edited and translated by Raghuvīra, 1962). The *ślokāntara* has been edited by Sharada Rani (1957).

Certain parts of the Sanskrit Pañcatantra fables were also adapted in Old Javanese prose, with many quotations of original Sanskrit *ślokas*. The book is called Caṇḍa

Pingala or Kamandaka (edition with Dutch translation by Hooykaas). The Javanese-Balinese Tantri poems which are based on the old text are registered in Part Three, Belles-Lettres (see above, 13.000). They were discussed by Hooykaas ("Tantri, De Middel-"Javaansche Pañcatantra-bewerking", 1929).

13.110 Sāra Samuccaya, Old Javanese prose compilation of didactic *ślokas*, with Old Javanese paraphrases:

cod. 4469 (= 10.597 = BCB prtf 69), 4470, 4471, KITLV Or 45.

13.120 Tantri Kamandaka, Pañcatantra fables:

cod. 4533, 4534, 4535, 10.552 (= BCB prtf 43A), CB 39.

13.130 Kamandaka Rāja Nīti, prose treatise on statecraft:

cod. 2265 (= 6203 a no 4), 3622 (= 3926), 3781 (= 3885), 3877, 3894, 3927 (= 10.411 = BCB prtf 3), 3990, 4247, 5059, 5088, 5090, 6203 a no 5 (KBG Br 471 and 481), 9998 (Krt 1862).

13.140 *Ślokāntara*, prose compilation of moralistic *ślokas*:

cod. 5047 (= 10.399 = BCB prtf 2), 9328 (Krt 494), 9713 (Krt 1277).

13.150 Raṇa Yajña, treatise on death on the battle-field, with *ślokas*:

cod. 3868-III (= BCB prtf 3), 5349, 9278 (Krt 370).

13.160 Widhi Śāstra Kamandaka, questions of law, fables:

cod. 3957-II (= 10.455 = BCB prtf 7), 6203 a no 4.

13.170 Moralistic *ślokas*:

cod. 3932-III (= 10.409 = BCB prtf 3).

13.200 Nīti texts, on statecraft (still group D, 11.000). In the course of

time Old Javanese didactic and moralistic books, originally going back to Indian texts and maxims, developed into an important branch of literature. It is difficult to ascertain the age of the didactic and moralistic texts originating from the old books, or imitating them. Perhaps before 1500 A.D., roughly speaking, some of them already existed in writing. Most probable is the supposition that the majority is the work of Balinese authors living during the reigns of the Kings of Gèlgèl and Klungkur, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the present Synopsis a distinction is made between Javanese-Balinese didactic texts mainly referring to statecraft on the one side, and moralistic texts concerned with virtue on the other. The texts on statecraft, often called *niti* texts, were meant to be studied in the circles of rulers and courtiers. Part of the Old Javanese texts of Indian origin (Pañcatantra cycle: 13.120, 13.130) was written for the same public. The purely moralistic texts appealed to religiously minded men and women in general. A similar distinction between didactic-moralistic literature written for wordly gentlemen, priyayis, on the one hand, and for men of religion on the other, is found in the Islamic period (see 17.600).

Under the present head Javanese-Balinese wordly *niti* texts are collected. The connection of that kind of texts with religion seems slight, but then in Javanese culture rulers and noblemen occupied an important place in the centre of human society, and so their behaviour was a model for all. Some Javanese-Balinese books of law which have been registered in Part Four of the present Synopsis (47.010) contain passages which

are related to the present *niti* texts.

In the Islamic period of Javanese literature similar texts on statecraft were in evidence. Beside books originating from Old Javanese texts, comparable treatises of the genre of Mirror for Princes appeared. They were based on Islamic literature of Persian-Arabic origin. The texts on statecraft of the Islamic period are discussed in 16.500 and 17.300.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts are registered in the General Index under the catchword *statecraft*.

13.210 Niti Praya, Old Javanese or Javanese-Balinese didactic prose treatise on statecraft:

cod. 3635 (= 4349), 4348 (= 10.413 = BCB prtf 3), 5049, 5066, 5183, 9361 (Krt 573), 9398 (Krt 663).

13.220 Niti Raja Sasana, didactic poem on statecraft:

cod. 9449 (Krt 763).

13.230 Indra Loka, prose treatise on statecraft and good behaviour:

cod. 3685 (= 3951 = 10.429 = BCB prtf 5), 3746 (in verse, = BCB prtf 13 and 51), 3825 (= 4241), 3875 (= 10.429 = BCB prtf 5), 3937 (= BCB prtf 13), 5100, 9113 (Krt 57), 9194 (Krt 192 a), 9271 (Krt 357), 9672 (Krt 1195 b), 9739 (Krt 1337, tutur, cosmogony).

13.240 Nawa Natya, Krama Nagara, Old Javanese prose treatise on good behaviour of courtiers:

cod. 3868-II (= BCB prtf 3), 3907-II (= BCB prtf 8, Kaprajñan in rakryan apatih Gajah Mada), 5091 (= BCB prtf 8), 9383 (Krt 624, Mantri Sasana), 9607 (Krt 1066, Krama Nagara).

13.250 Nawa Sasana in Ratu, prose treatise

tise on behaviour of princes and courtiers:
cod. 9417 (Krt 697).

13.260 Bhuwana Purāṇa, on statecraft and social order:

cod. 3868 (= BCB prtf 2), 9171 (Krt 155 a), 9379 (Krt 617), 10.086 (Krt 2049).

13.270 Catur Brahma Waṅśa Tatwa, didactic treatise:

cod. 9233 (Krt 268).

13.280 Catur Pakṣopadéśa, Old Javanese prose treatise on denominations of religious persons:

cod. 5084 (= 10.443 = BCB prtf 7).

13.290 Treatises on masters and disciples in holy lore:

cod. 4487 (Sila-Krama niṣ maguron-guron), 5174-II (= 10.422 = BCB prtf 4), 9229 (Krt 260, Darma Sisya), 9684 (Krt 1198, Jagat Kāraṇa).

13.300 Kërta Bujāṅga, on social order:

cod. 9811 (Krt 1486).

13.310 Prabu Wibuh, on Royalty:

cod. 9437 (Krt 743).

13.400 Moralistic lessons (still group D, 11.000) referring to virtuous behaviour in general, as distinguished from special texts on statecraft, show a relationship with treatises on devotional practice, *taṭa brata*, which have been registered under 12.600. In some cases connection with Old Javanese collections of moralistic maxims, originally paraphrases of Sanskrit ślokaś (Sāra Samuccaya compendium, 13.110) is probable. Some edifying Javanese-Balinese poems containing lessons and speculations on the same subjects as the present prose texts and the religious poetry registered under the next head (13.700), have been

discussed in Part Three, Belles-Lettres (30.285), because of their artificial belletristic form.

The age of the moralistic texts is difficult to ascertain (see 13.200). Probably most of them were written in Bali.

Like the didactic treatises on statecraft and behaviour of courtiers, the moralistic texts belonging to the pre-Islamic era have counterparts written in the Islamic period of Javanese literary history. Arabic moralistic treatises were paraphrased or adapted at the time. They added considerably to the volume of moralistic Javanese literature. Moralistic texts belonging to the Islamic era have been registered in 16.500.

Under the present head Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese prose texts of a didactic-moralistic character have been collected.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been listed in the General Index under the catchwords: *didactic* and *moralistic*.

13.410 Niti Brata, Old Javanese moralistic lessons, prose:

cod. 3626 (= 3935 = 3970 = 10.412 = BCB prtf 3).

13.420 Javanese-Balinese moralistic lessons, *tuturs*, prose:

cod. 9484 (Krt 835, Tutur Wāhya), AdKIT 1270/1.

13.430 Catur Yuga, didactic prose tale, Banoraja:

cod. 3898 (= 10.421 = BCB prtf 4), 9399 (Krt 666), 9704 (Krt 1256), 10.029 (Krt 1925, Darma Paramarta), 10.157 (Krt 2176, Tēgēs iṅ Catur Yuga).

13.440 Daśa Śīla, speculative moralistic treatise:

cod. 9199 (Krt 199).

13.450 Krama Pura, rules of behaviour in temples:

cod. 9822 (Krt 1503).

13.460 Krama Satya, moralistic treatise for women:

cod. 9978 (Krt 1805).

13.470 Pāṇḍawa tutur, Dharmarāja's lessons, Old Javanese prose:

cod. 5344 (= 10.402 = BCB prtf 2).

13.480 Parta Jñana Sura's lessons, religious speculation:

cod. 9220 (Krt 247).

13.490 Roga Saṅgara, on catur yuga, moralistic:

cod. 9395 (Krt 657).

13.500 Tatwa Gama, didactic, social order:
cod. 10.030 (Krt 1927), 10.085 (Krt 2048).

13.510 Tatwa Bhuwana, Javanese-Balinese moralistic treatise:

cod. 3899-III (= 10.465 = BCB prtf 8).

13.700 Didactic religious and moralistic poetry (still group D, 11.000). In Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese literature moralistic lessons were often versified. Romantical tales in verse were considered suitable frames for moralistic lessons and didactic treatises. The Sanskrit epics Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa abound with lessons and didactic passages, and the Javanese authors always had the example of the great Indian poems before them.

In the course of time Javanese and Javanese-Balinese authors produced several moralistic and didactic poems. Some of them, containing a more or less moralistic tale, have been registered in Part Three, Belles-Lettres, of the present Synopsis (30.275).

Those moralistic poems which do not contain tales serving as frames for the lessons have been listed under the present head. They are not amusing in the way of narrative poems; in some cases their poetical value is considerable, however. Relationship with the prose collections of moralistic maxims based on Sanskrit śloka which have been discussed above (13.100) is evident.

In the Islamic period of Javanese cultural history they were rewritten and adapted. Javanese scholars of the Pasisir Courts studied the Nīti Śāstra, also called Nīti Sāra, considering it a summary of ancient wisdom in the field of ethics. Javanese versions have been discussed separately under another head of the present Part One (17.000). The Old Javanese Nīti Śāstra was edited, translated into Dutch and annotated by Poerbatjaraka (KBG, Bibliotheca Javanica vol. 4, 1933).

The moralistic-didactic *kakawin* called Nirartha Prakērtā was edited and translated into Dutch by Poerbatjaraka (BKI vol. 107, 1951). According to the learned editor it was written about 1450 A.D. in the district of Surabaya.

13.710 A Nīti Sāra, Nīti Śāstra, Old Javanese moralistic-didactic poem:

cod. 3976 (= BCB prtf 22), 4350, 9397 (Krt 662, Sāra Samuccaya).

13.710 B Nirartha Prakērtā, Old Javanese moralistic-didactic poem:

cod. 5023-VI.

13.720 Darma Putus, didactic kakawin:

cod. 5235.

13.730 Darma Śarana, didactic kakawin, made in Bali:

cod. CB 58 (= BCB prtf 26).

13.740 Bhuwana Lakṣana, didactic kakawin, made in Bali:

cod. 9984 (Krt 1842).

13.750 Darma Sawita, moralistic kakawin, made in Bali:

cod. 3625 (Basa Pituwēlas = 4184), 4183 (= 10.516 = BCB prtf 23).

13.760 Darma śūnya, didactic kakawin:

cod. 4185 (Darma Niskala, = 10.521 = BCB prtf 24), 4186, 5097 (Darma Sunya Kēliṅ, = 10.522 = BCB prtf 24), 5278, NBS 95 (Darma Sunya Kēliṅ).

13.770 Darma Sasana, Javanese-Balinese didactic-moralistic poem in macapat metres:

cod. 9176 (Krt 165), 9450 (Krt 764).

13.780 Boma Karaṅraṅ, encyclopedic moralistic poem, Muslim influence, Lombok:

cod. 10.288 (Krt 2378).

13.790 Didactic religious poems in tēṅahan metres:

cod. 3621 (= 3966), 9700 (Krt 1244, Tutar Sayukti gaguritan), 10.033 (Krt 1930, Gita Sakti).

13.800 Guwar-gawir, moralistic poem in tēṅahan metres, Raga Runtih (cf. 12.640):

cod. 3932 (= 10.407, 10.408 = BCB prtf 3), 9694 (Krt 1235).

13.810 Javanese-Balinese didactic religious poetry in macapat metres:

cod. 3893-III (= 10.502 = BCB prtf 18, Séwa Darma), 4199 (= 4200, Japa Tuwan), BrJN 470 (Japa Tuhan in prose), 9491 (Krt 848, Tuwan Conḍon, Tuwan Cunut), 9508 (Krt 892, Paṅéran Gowaṅ), 9509 (Krt 892 a, Idēr Buwana),

9512 (Krt 898, Widi Krama), 9983 (Krt 1841, Kiduṅ Kaputusan), 10.270 (Krt 2355, Ḍukuh Kërta Warsa).

13.820 Javanese-Balinese didactic kakawin:

cod. BCB prtf 25 (Krt 698, Kalēpasan).

13.830 Putra Sasana, moralistic kakawin, made in Bali:

cod. CB 42 (Krt 32 = BCB prtf 26).

13.840 Raré Aṅon, Javanese-Balinese didactic religious poem in macapat metres:

cod. 3872 (= 10.478 = BCB prtf 12), REM 1132-4.

13.850 Sad Ripu, moralistic kakawin, made in Bali:

cod. 9421 (Krt 704).

13.860 Sāra Saṅkathā, didactic kakawin, made in Bali:

cod. 9354 (Krt 540).

13.870 Kamandaka Tantri, moralistic kakawin, animal fables, made in Bali (cf. Krt 679, Tantri kakawin):

cod. BCB prtf 26 (= CB 43-II).

13.880 Jinarti Prakērti, pralambaṅ Kama-hayanin, Buddhist kakawin:

cod. 5023-III (= 10.513 = BCB prtf 22).

13.890 Bhārgawa Śikṣa Warta Śāstra, edifying religious kakawin:

cod. 5136 (compendium = 10.523 = BCB prtf 24 = BCB prtf 164).

13.900 Ḍaḍaṅ-ḍuḍaṅ, Javanese-Balinese didactic Buddhist poem in tēṅahan verse:

cod. 4169, 9709 (Krt 1269).

13.910 Kërta Samaya, Bhuwana Tatwa Pariyaya, moralistic kakawin:

cod. 5023-IV (= 10.514 = BCB prtf 22).

14.000 The beginning of the Islamic period in Java. Javanese Mysticism.*

In the fifteenth century Muslim traders acquired political influence in the mercantile towns on the North Coast of East Java and in the sixteenth century Islam was in the ascendant politically and culturally. In the structure of Javanese civilization and social life Islam took approximately the same place as Indian religion occupied before. That is to say, for a long time both Indian and Muslim religion were cultural assets of people belonging to the ruling class and the professional class of men of religion. Probably in many districts in the interior of the country the common people were scarcely interested in the unfamiliar rites (see 10.000).

The first Muslims in Java were foreigners coming from Further India. Champa (Cěmpa) is repeatedly mentioned in Javanese historical legends referring to the introduction of Islam. The ethnical origin of the earliest Muslim traders' families settling in East Java is difficult to ascertain. Perhaps they belonged to the extensive social group of traders and sailors of mixed descent, often speaking several languages, which was the more or less floating population of the harbours on the coasts of India, beginning with Gujrat, in the west, down to the Peninsula, in the east. About their reasons for leaving their native country in Further India nothing is known with certainty. Probably they were traders seeking in the first place material profit. The opportunities for extending their trade relations and the relative safety in the harbours of East Java may have been attractive to them.

It is possible that they had already favoured Islamic mysticism in their homeland. There seems to be little reason to assume, however, that their mystic interpretation of Islam was a powerful motive which induced them to emigrate to Java in order to propagate their faith. Proselytizing always has come natural to Muslim traders who settled in foreign countries among unbelievers.

The Indian traders of mixed blood who introduced Islam in Java may have had connections of long standing with Javanese middle-class people, tradesmen and artisans. In middle-class circles in maritime towns and market-boroughs in the country, Javanese men and women who were accustomed to perform religious rites connected with their trades may have been the first to show some interest in Islam.

In India Muslim rulers, having cultural connections with Persian Islam, superseded native Kings, and Persian became the vehicle of Islamic culture. In the Peninsula and the Archipelago that function fell to Malay. Perhaps for a long time before the introduction of Islam some kind of Malay was already the idiom of interinsular com-

* Islamic religious and moralistic texts belonging to Eras **C** and **D** of Javanese cultural history, the Pasisir period and the period of the renaissance of classical literature (see 00020), have been registered together in the following paragraphs (14.000—18.600), because in this religious literature the continuity is very much apparent. The literary idioms of the texts are East Javanese, Pasisir Javanese and modern Javanese, Surakarta and Yogyakarta standards (see 00030, groups 3, 4 and 5).

merce. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries traders in the Archipelago, when they embraced Islam, used their familiar inter-insular trade idiom also *in religiosus*. Malay became the language of Islam. At the same time the international Arabic script superseded older scripts of Indian origin which had been used before by Malay speaking people. In matters connected with Islam, Muslim theology and law, Malay words and expressions were borrowed everywhere in the Archipelago, and Malay always was intermediary in introducing Arabic words and names, connected with Islam, into the native languages of the islands.

For a long time Muslim religiosity in Java had its centres on the one hand in the quarters of pious traders and artisans clustered around the mosques in towns and boroughs, on the other hand in schools or colleges (*ponḍoks, pasantrèns*), which will be discussed by and by. The quarters of Muslim men of religion mostly engaged in trade were called *kaumans* in Javanese (from Arabic *ḥawm*: people). In the beginning, Javanese Islam was a religion of middle-class people. Probably one is justified in assuming that the overturn of ancient Javanese-Hinduistic religion in part was a social revolution which brought a new class of temporal and ecclesiastical rulers into office. Though in theory there are no priests in Islam, in fact the place of pre-Islamic ecclesiastics was soon filled by Muslim men of religion belonging to the *kauman* and *ponḍok* groups. In the beginning of the Islamic period several elements of ancient indigenous Javanese culture, wayaṅ, gamēlan etc. came to the fore. In this devel-

opment of native art also the new classes of temporal and ecclesiastical rulers may have been operative. Being partly of middle-class origin, they were probably more familiar with elements of ancient popular culture than the Hinduistic Court nobility and the high-class Court scholars, who were superseded.

At the time of the victory of Islam over the old Javanese-Hinduistic religious system, Java and Bali possessed a rich and many-sided literature. The Malay treatises which contained the tenets of the new religion were studied by Javanese scholars who had an extensive vocabulary referring to pre-Islamic religious concepts at their disposal. Like all Muslim neophytes they borrowed a great number of Arabic words, expressive of the new concepts. Over and above that, they soon began to use terms belonging to the sphere of the pre-Islamic religion, in order to explain Arabic religious terms. An Islamic Javanese idiom came into existence. Nevertheless, like everywhere in the Muslim world, Arabic words and expressions remained preponderant in religious treatises. Starting from religious and moralistic Islamic literature, Arabic words and expressions became increasingly numerous in everyday speech, and enriched the already copious Javanese vocabulary with new synonyms. Gradually, in the form of Arabic and Malay words and expressions, Islam acclimatized in Java, living side by side with the old Javanese-Hinduistic religious traditions. Finally it superseded them.

In some remote districts of Java pre-Islamic religious beliefs and related ceremonies survived. Under one of the preceding heads (10.800) texts originally belonging

to those conservative Javanese communities have been registered.

In Bali Muslim penetration did not succeed in overturning the rule of the rural gentry who recognized the Majapahit King as suzerain. Bali as a whole did not accept Islam. But in North and West Bali small communities of immigrated Muslims or Muslim Balinese, probably of mixed blood, held their own. Religious literature written in the Javanese-Balinese idiom, belonging to Balinese Muslims, will be discussed under a separate head (16.800).

Probably in the course of the seventeenth century, in the island of Lombok, to the east of Bali, local Sasak chieftains were converted to Islam by Javanese traders of Grėsik. In Lombok Islam had an autonomous development. Texts written in the local Javanese-Balinese-Sasak idiom have been registered under a separate head (16.900). In Part Two, History, of the present Synopsis (22.700) historical texts belonging to the Muslim communities of Lombok will be discussed.

In Javanese Islam, which dates from about 1500 A.D., three currents can be distinguished, namely a mystic, a legalistic orthodox, and a modernistic current. The modernistic current did not become apparent before the end of the nineteenth century. In literature it did not leave many traces of its activity, so in the present Synopsis it will not often be mentioned. Religious tracts on Islam and Kur'an were published by the modernistic Muslim society Muhammadiya, in Central Java, since the first decades of the twentieth century. No manuscripts connected with these publications are in evidence.

Probably since about 1500 A.D. in Javanese Islam the mystic and the legalistic orthodox currents existed side by side, as they did almost everywhere in the Muslim world. In the beginning, apparently, Islamic mysticism appealed most strongly to Javanese neophytes, because of the similarity between mystic spheres, phases and classes on the one side and pre-Islamic religious speculation on Order in macrocosmos and microcosmos on the other. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mystic doctrines and speculations of a heterodox style, somewhat tinged by pantheism, were current in the communities of Muslim believers in the districts along the North Coast. These pantheistic doctrines were disputed by divines who, though indulging in mysticism themselves, still adhered to the orthodox monotheistic tenets of Islam. The earliest Islamic religious treatises written in Java seem to be concerned with the dispute between orthodox and heterodox mystics. The orthodox won; as a consequence, definitely heterodox mystic treatises are almost non-existent in Javanese religious literature.

In legendary historical tales, probably written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the conversion of Java is ascribed to nine saints, *walis*, named after their residences located in the districts along the North Coast. Legends and genealogies of saints have been registered in Part Two, History, of the present Synopsis (24.500). Their alleged opinions in the field of mysticism are collected in a well-known text, called "Deliberation of the Saints" (*Musawaratan para Wali*). One *wali* was condemned for propagating a heterodox opinion: he was burned on the pyre.

For a long time instruction in religious lore of all kinds in Java was given in schools or colleges, each under the leadership of a master, called *kyahi*. The pupils were lodged in simple huts in the yard of the master's house, and in some cases they worked for him to earn their living and school-fees. The schools were called *ponḍoks* (huts) or *pasantrèns* (places of *santris*: pupils and servants). There is reason to suppose that teaching establishments of this kind already existed in the pre-Islamic period. Perhaps their origin is to be found in the ancient indigenous social organization. The Muslim *ponḍoks* may have had for prototypes, in the pre-Islamic period, the *maṇḍalas*, mentioned repeatedly in Old Javanese literature (see "Java in the XIVth Century" vol. IV, p. 484). Similarity of methods of studying religion in the pre-Islamic and in the Muslim period of Javanese cultural history will be mentioned again with reference to the use of texts, originally written in Arabic (see 14.400).

In the first centuries of the Islamic period several masters of *ponḍoks*, perhaps continuing a pre-Islamic tradition of scholarship, were adepts of mysticism. Propagating their doctrines among their pupils they exercised a wide-spread influence in Java, not only spiritually but also politically. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Javanese Kings found the *kyahis* of *ponḍoks* a nuisance and troublesome. The action of the temporal rulers to curtail the influence of the mystic masters was appreciated by the legalist divines who had their doubts about the orthodoxy of the *kyahis*. So in the nineteenth century orthodox Islam came into the ascendancy in Java.

The orthodox faction was mostly led by Muslim divines who occupied rather lucrative places as heads of mosques, in Javanese called with a Malay word: *panḥulus*. They belonged to the middle-class *kauman*, the men of religion grouped around the mosques in towns and boroughs, often engaged in trade, who have been mentioned before as belonging to the earliest period of Islam in Java. Religious texts primarily studied in orthodox circles have been registered under a separate head (15.700 ff.).

The mystic current in religious thought did not disappear, though. In the nineteenth century the leadership of mystic adepts passed gradually from the hands of revered *kyahis* of *ponḍoks* to local representatives of grand-masters of great international mystic fraternities having their headquarters in Mecca. That was the end of the kind of free mysticism which was instrumental in introducing the Muslim Faith into Java. For centuries it had been characteristic for Javanese Islam.

In Javanese religious literature of the Islamic period texts in some way or another concerned with mysticism are numerous. Some books which in the present Synopsis have been registered in Part Three, Belles-Lettres, are also coloured by mysticism. In view of the preponderant importance of the mystic current in Javanese Islam, in the present Part One Muslim religious texts will be discussed in the following order:

- A. Texts primarily concerned with mystic speculation:
14.010—15.300 ff.
- B. Collections of prayers and incantations,

closely or remotely connected with Islam :
15.500—15.600 ff.

C. Javanese treatises on Islamic theology,
divine worship and ritual :
15.700—16.000 ff.

D. Javanese didactic and edifying books on
Islamic ethics :
16.200—16.600 ff.

E. Javanese-Balinese texts on Islam written
in Bali and Lombok :
16.800—16.900 ff.

F. Moralistic texts written in the Islamic
period, not closely connected with Islam :
17.000—18.500 ff.

Under the present head some Javanese texts on Islam and Muslim mysticism (group A) belonging to the beginning of the Islamic period of Javanese cultural history have been registered. Two of them were brought to The Netherlands by ships returning from the first Dutch voyage to Java in the last years of the sixteenth century. They were several times edited and translated into Dutch, one (cod. 266) by Dr Gunning ("Een Javaansch geschrift uit de 16de eeuw handelende over den Mohammedaanschen godsdienst", Leiden, 1881), professor H. Kraemer ("Een Javaansche primbon uit de zestiende eeuw", Leiden 1921) and professor Drewes ("Een Javaanse Primbon uit de zestiende eeuw, opnieuw uitgegeven en vertaald", Leiden 1954), the other one (cod. 1928) by professor B. J. O. Schrieke ("Het boek van Bonang", Utrecht 1916) and professor Drewes (in preparation). A third manuscript of the same kind was discovered recently in the Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea of Ferrara, Italy (cod.

10.811). Two remarkable books, written on treebark-paper, and folded in the manner of Indian books (resembling one side of a concertina balloon), cod. 8657 (a photographic copy) and cod. 11.092 (a manuscript originally belonging to professor Drewes) are comparable with the codexes 266, 1928 and 10.811 as to age and contents. They are all books of notes, containing lessons on various subjects connected with mysticism. As such they are closely related with the mass of books of notes written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which have been registered in 14.200, 14.600 and 15.300 ff. It seems quite possible that some manuscripts registered under these heads contain texts of equal antiquity as the authentic sixteenth century codexes. But then, in nineteenth century books of notes, old texts can hardly be identified with any certainty. Cod. 3050 might also date from the seventeenth century.

The old manuscripts have in common their script and idiom which are related to pre-Islamic Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese script and idiom. Apparently in the sixteenth century Arabic script had not yet fully established itself in Central and East Java, even in Muslim religious communities. The tradition of pre-Islamic Old Javanese scholarship still was strong. Afterwards, especially in the period of domination of the legal and orthodox current in Javanese Islam, Arabic script was used more frequently. The old manuscripts belong to the Pasisir period of Javanese cultural history; probably their authors or editors lived in Muslim communities in the maritime districts along the North Coast. In Part Two of the present Synopsis (22.200)

political and social history of the Pasisir period will be discussed.

14.010 Notes on mysticism, 16th century, editions Gunning, Kraemer and Drewes:

cod. 266.

14.020 Notes on theology and mysticism, editions of Schrieke and Drewes:

cod. 1928.

14.030 Notes on theology and mysticism, and edifying tract, 16th century, Ferrara manuscript:

cod. 10.811 (photostats and copies).

14.031 Catechism, theology and mysticism, folded treebark-books:

cod. 8657-B (photostats), 11.092.

14.200 Old Islamic Texts in *buda*, *gunuṅ* script (group A, 14.000).

In the nineteenth century the legalistic and orthodox current in Javanese Islam became strong. As far as possible Muslim divines destroyed reminiscences of the preceding periods. Social customs of pre-Islamic origin, and religious rites which were considered unorthodox, were either suppressed or remodelled and reinterpreted in concordance with the tenets of Islam. Probably in the course of time many manuscripts containing texts referring to unorthodox Islamic mysticism were either destroyed or cast into oblivion.

Nevertheless in remote districts some manuscripts containing information on beliefs of Muslim communities belonging to the first centuries of Javanese Islam are preserved. In some cases the script is of the kind called *buda* or *gunuṅ*, a rustic script also found in some Javanese manuscripts with non-Islamic religious texts, registered under 10.800, and further in texts on magic

and divination registered under 40.260 and 41.960.

Under the present head some manuscripts written in *buda* or *gunuṅ* or rustic script, containing miscellaneous notes on Islamic theology, mysticism and incantations have been registered.

14.210 Notes on mysticism and incantations, mixed with pre-Islamic texts, partly written in *buda* or *gunuṅ* script:

cod. 2262, 5611.

14.220 Notes on mysticism, theology etc., antiquated idiom, Pasisir, written in clumsy quadratic script:

cod. 5615, 5620.

14.230 Notes on mysticism, theology, divination etc., old (West) Javanese manuscripts originally written in antique Javanese script, modern Javanese copies:

cod. 6548 a (one manuscript originally written on bamboo laths), 7480 (KBG no 17, kropak, Běṇḍa mss), 8597 (KBG no 189, Běṇḍa mss), 7517 (Siṅgèn Lor, Sěmarang, notes), 11.017 (KBG no 75, kropak).

14.240 Notes on mysticism, theology, divination etc., old Pasisir texts, rustic Javanese script:

cod. 6620 (= 8312 g = BCB prtf 158), 6626 (= 8312 h = BCB prtf 158), 7465, 7556.

14.400 Arabic texts and Javanese paraphrases (still group A, 14.000). It is beyond doubt that in the Islamic period of Javanese cultural history literal translations of Arabic religious texts occupied an important place in literature. In this period Arabic took over the function which belonged to Sanskrit in the preceding

period of history. The oldest Old Javanese treatises on Śiwaism and Buddhism consisted of Sanskrit texts provided with Old Javanese paraphrases (see 10.000, conclusion).

In the present Synopsis it is out of place to draw a parallel between Indian (Sanskrit) and Islamic (Arabic) influence on the development of Javanese civilization. Suffice it to say that Islamic religious concepts, introduced into Java in the fifteenth century, found the soil in a way prepared for their reception by the scholars' secular study of Old Javanese religious texts which reflected Indian ideas. Small wonder that the methods of studying religion in Java in the pre-Islamic and the Muslim period of cultural history show points of similarity. This remark has already been made with reference to the activities of masters of religious schools (14.000, conclusion).

The texts which have been registered under the preceding heads (14.000 and 14.200) presuppose a knowledge of Arabic religious literature on the part of the authors. They contain many Arabic words and sentences. Nevertheless they are not just paraphrases of Arabic texts. Perhaps in the beginning of religious propaganda and teaching in Java, the Creed and the principal tenets of Islam were first orally transmitted, and only afterwards written down in Old Javanese script. A serious study of Arabic religious texts, paraphrasing them in Javanese, probably belonged to a second phase of the penetration of Islam into the intellectual sphere of Javanese scholars. In this phase knowledge of Arabic script and Arabic grammar was indispensable. Javanese treatises on Arabic grammar have been registered in Part Four, Humanities, under the head grammar (46.050).

Javanese paraphrases of Arabic texts were written under the lines, word by word. They are called interlinear glosses. The serious study of Arabic religious texts by means of Javanese interlinear glosses belongs to the period of the Pasisir culture of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The character of the Pasisir culture has been described in Part Two, History, 22.200. At that time in Bali knowledge of the Old Javanese poetic idiom, called *karwi*, was on the wane, and Javanese-Balinese scholars were in want of paraphrases of Old Javanese epic poems. The making of Javanese interlinear glosses, whether applied (in Bali) to Old Javanese epics or (in Java) to Arabic religious texts, seems to be a characteristic feature of scholarship of the Pasisir period of Javanese cultural history.

Javanese interlinear glosses of Arabic texts were written with Arabic characters. Placing Javanese words written with Javanese letters under Arabic words, to be read in the opposite direction, would be awkward. Moreover in the interlinear glosses several Arabic words, already familiar in Java, were used. It is not certain that the use of Arabic script in writing Javanese had its origin in the making of Javanese interlinear glosses of Arabic religious texts, but evidently it was promoted by students of Islam (see 00090).

Under the present head some books of notes on Islamic lore, still belonging to group A, mystic literature (see 14.000) and containing original Arabic texts provided with Javanese paraphrases have been collected. Perhaps some paraphrases registered under the present head date from the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries. Probably most paraphrases were made as late as the last

decades of the nineteenth century, however. The Arabic script does not allow of making a reliable guess at the age of the manuscripts, because through the centuries it did not change as considerably as the Javanese script.

The paraphrases are not always interlinear glosses. In several cases they have the form of interpretations, appended paragraphs following the Arabic texts. As most manuscripts contain insufficient information on the name and the author of the Arabic texts, the origin is often difficult to ascertain. Perhaps fragments of books of celebrated authors on mysticism, such as al-Ghazālī and Ibn al-ʿArabī, found their way to the Archipelago inserted in rather popular manuals. In Dr Voorhoeve's "Handlist of Arabic "Manuscripts" (1957) many Arabic codexes provided with Javanese interlinear glosses have been registered. Not all these Arabic texts of Voorhoeve's "Handlist" are enumerated in the present Synopsis (see also 15.800). The following manuscripts have been registered in the Synopsis mainly on account of rather interesting Javanese notes appended to the Arabic texts.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts are indicated in the General Index under the catchwords *mysticism* and *glosses*.

14.410 Arabic treatises on Muslim mysticism provided with Javanese glosses and notes:

cod. 5716, 6280, 6570, 7053, 7054, 7736, 7773, 8573.

14.420 Gawāhir al-ʿUlūm, Malay treatise, etc.:

cod. 6481 (= 6586).

14.430 Notes on Muslim theology and mysticism, Arabic texts with Javanese paraphrases and interpretations:

cod. 1969, 5594, 5735, 5738 bis, 7049, 7060, 7417, 7531, 7723.

14.600 Opinions of Javanese mystics (still group A, 14.000). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries pious Muslim authors, believers in mysticism, ascribed the conversion of Java to Islam, at that time already more than a hundred years ago, to the activities of saints, called *walis* (Arabic *waliyyuʿllāh*: Friend of God). In the present Synopsis legends and genealogies of Javanese saints have been registered in Part Two, History (24.500). The number of eight or nine saints who are mentioned in the legends as forming a kind of Round Table, with sunan Kali Jaga in the centre, is a pious fiction. Probably the idea of fixing the number was inspired by the existence in pre-Islamic Javanese religious speculation of a group of divine Custodians of Order in microcosmos and macrocosmos, in India called Lokapālas, residing in the eight main and intermediate quarters of the world and in the centre.

Opinions of mystic masters on points of theology, especially on the interrelationship of Creator and Creation, were manifold. The majority felt that orthodox Islamic monotheism ought to be upheld anyhow. In seventeenth and eighteenth century tradition the variety of mystic experiences was reflected in the opinions of the members of the legendary Round Table of Saints, assembled in order to deliberate on points of theology. One *wali*, sunan Lĕmah Abar, also called Siti Jĕnar, was found to have an opinion tinged by heterodox pantheism. He was condemned to be burned on the pyre. Beside sunan Lĕmah Abar,

legendary tradition knows of other holy men who on account of heterodox opinions met with the same or a similar fate at the hands of upholders of orthodox monotheism, both Muslim divines and secular rulers. There is reason to believe that those traditions contain some truth, though the well-known history of the celebrated mystic al-Ḥallāḡ, who was executed in Baghdad in 922 A.D. for his blasphemous heterodox opinions, may have constituted an example. Just as in the case of al-Ḥallāḡ in the Arabic world, in Java the victims after their death were venerated as holy men, in knowledge of divine mysteries superior to their persecutors. According to popular opinion their only fault was that they had divulged mysteries which ought to have been kept secret.

In Javanese Islamic mysticism the generally accepted orthodox formula for the inter-relationship of mankind and God is *kawula-Gusti*: bondman - Master. Apparently these terms, borrowed from indigenous Javanese law, and at the same time in accordance with the Arabic concept of man's status as *ʿabd*, slave, of God, made a strong appeal to Javanese neophytes. Probably the *kawula-Gusti* doctrine was one of the principal factors in making monotheistic Islam acceptable to religiously minded Javanese. In native Javanese society master and bondman, though fundamentally different and not interchangeable, were united by an indissoluble bond (see the present author's "Java in the XIVth Century", vol. IV, p. 473).

Under the present head texts referring to the opinions of Javanese mystics have been collected. The tales on the saints' synod and the condemnation of sunan Lĕmah Abaṅ may go back to the seventeenth century. An

original text of the legend could not be indicated, though. Musawaratan (Deliberation) tales are popular in later compendiums of mystic lore. They were also put into verse. Perhaps these tales, together with the compendiums of mystic lore and the mystic songs, which will be discussed under the next heads (14.800—14.900) and some old didactic-moralistic poems (see 17.100), are the first Islamic religious works which were written in macapat verse (see 00070 and 15.600).

Relevant manuscripts have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *Musawaratan*.

14.610 Texts on opinions of Javanese mystic masters, in prose:

cod. 1911, 7479.

14.620 Musawaratan, the Saints' Deliberations, in verse:

cod. 5776 c, 7529.

14.630 Suluk Wali Saṅa, in verse:

cod. 7567 (= 10.766).

14.640 Notes on the Saints' doctrines in mysticism, prose:

cod. 7406, 7453, 7462, 7475 (= 8586), 7481, 7535, 7538, 7544, 7700, 7726, 7729, 8758.

14.650 Sèh Siti Jĕnar's death:

cod. 6596 (compendium).

14.800 *M u s t a k a R a ṅ c a ṅ* (still group A, 14.000). Originally lessons on Muslim religion in general, and mysticism in particular, were given orally by masters to their disciples. Probably the first didactic poems on religious lore, especially mystic concepts, were written in religious communities flourishing in East and Central Java in the beginning of the eighteenth century. They were closely related, on the one side, with

poetic texts on the Saints' Deliberations as mentioned under the preceding head, and on the other side with mystic songs, *suluks*, to be discussed under the next head.

Mustaka (or Pustaka) Rañcaṅ is the title given to a compendium of notes on Muslim mystic lore, in verse. It is difficult to ascertain whether one text in particular has a right to be called by that name. Perhaps it is more like a collective noun. The affinity of compendiums of the Mustaka Rañcaṅ type with the great encyclopedic poems Jatiswara, Cabolaṅ and Cēṅṭini is beyond doubt. Some names of mystic masters are found in the four books. In the present Synopsis the Jatiswara, Cabolaṅ and Cēṅṭini are registered in Part Three, Belles-Lettres (30.780) on account of the romantic story which serves as a framework. Encyclopedic books were written in Java already in the pre-Islamic period; they are discussed in Part Four, 46.500.

14.810 Mustaka Rañcaṅ, compendium of mystic lore, in verse:

cod. 5441, 7542, 7548.

14.820 Notes on Muslim mysticism and theology, in verse:

cod. 4888, 6717, 7498, 8653 a.

14.900 Mystic songs, *Suluks* (still group A, 14.000). In communities of mystic adepts in the North Coast districts, especially in the sphere of the Cērbon Sultanate, probably as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a kind of mystic songs were sung, sometimes apparently accompanied with music and dancing of dancing-women. They were called *suluks*, a name also applied to certain songs, sung by ḍalaṅs, professional performers of wayaṅ plays, on crucial points

in the performance. The coincidence suggests an interrelationship between Islamic religious poetry and the wayaṅ theatre with its mystery-plays. Nowadays texts of mystic *suluks* and wayaṅ *suluks* are quite different. It is not certain at all that formerly the two kinds of *suluks* had more in common than they have now.

The derivation of the word *suluk* from Arabic *sulūk*, course (of mystic life) is improbable. In Javanese texts the Arabic word *sulūk* is found very seldom, and if so, without any reference to singing. In recent literature on mysticism there may be some contamination of Javanese *suluk*: song and Arabic *sulūk*: course of mystic life, however.

As a rule Javanese mystic *suluks* are not very long songs in macapat metres, containing explanations of mystic concepts, or sometimes of cryptic terms of mysticism. Very often *suluks* are in the form of questions put by a disciple to his master, a son or grandson to his father or grandfather, a wife to her husband, etc. and answers given by the party in possession of mystic knowledge. The alternation of questions and answers suited the *suluk*'s function of a poetic lesson to be sung in a community of mystic adepts, both male and female. Passages of the great encyclopedic poems the Cabolaṅ and the Cēṅṭini suggest that the singing of *suluks* was a feature of religious meetings of adepts in mysticism.

Whereas some *suluks*, probably dating from a comparatively early period, are couched in simple language, others abound with cryptic expressions and the well-known Javanese enigmas, literary charades, called *wāṅsalans*, which cannot be understood by the uninitiated. In some *suluks* religious

sentiments are expressed in a lyrical form, which is exceptional in Javanese literature (see 30.170). In the eighteenth century mystic *suluks* seem to have been considered as an important sub-division of literature at the Court of the Cērbon Sultans. The West Javanese authors of these Court *suluks* sometimes used macapat metres which were unknown or unusual in Central Java (see 00050). Probably vagrant students of Islamic lore, wandering *santris* (see 30.780), were instrumental in spreading the *suluk* genre all over Java. *Suluks* seem to have been popular in most districts of Central and East Java since the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Poerbatjaraka ("Kapustakan Djawi", 1952, p. 94 and 98) considered *suluk* Sukarsa and *suluk* Wujil as belonging to the oldest group, written in the beginning of the seventeenth century, or perhaps even earlier.

Most *suluks* are called after one of the personages who are mentioned in the text, either asking questions or giving answers. Some *suluks* have names referring to the subject-matter of the text.

In some cases it is difficult to ascertain whether a given mystic poem is correctly called a *suluk*. The difference between the didactic mystic poems mentioned under the preceding head and *suluks* proper seems to consist mainly in the latter's character of songs originally made to be sung in religious meetings. However, in the course of time some very popular *suluks*, such as *suluk* Sujinah, seem to have been enlarged so as to develop into complete didactic poems. Perhaps the encyclopedic poem Cēṭṭini even owes its name to a *suluk* Cēṭṭini which long ago has disappeared in the overwhelming mass of the voluminous book (see 30.800).

Again it is not easy to make a clear distinction between *suluks* proper and narrative didactic poems referring to mystic masters, such as Cabolèk, Téka Wērdi etc., which will be discussed under the next head. Sometimes *suluks* seem to have been incorporated in these narrative texts, which probably were popular reading-matter in communities of adepts of mysticism, where the shorter mystic poems were regularly sung.

Sometimes popular catechisms and textbooks of religious instruction were versified, and these didactic poems were also called *suluks* (see 15.800). Perhaps in some religious communities the didactic *suluks* occasionally were sung in the same manner as the mystic songs which are discussed under the present head.

Under a preceding head, on Javanese-Balinese religious poetry (12.800), a relationship between some songs, hymns and incantations belonging to Javanese-Balinese non-Islamic religious practice, as a rule called *ajis*, and Muslim mystic *suluks* has been suggested. Probably both kinds of religious poetry were primarily meant to be sung in meetings of religiously minded people. Some popular devotional songs have been registered under the present head (though they are not called *suluks*), on account of their being sung by professional street-singers, probably relatives of the wandering *santris* who used to sing real *suluks* in their religious meetings.

Some *suluks* were published by local publishing houses in Java in compilations of religious poetry (e.g.: "Soeloek", van Dorp, Semarang 1905). Editions with Dutch translations and commentaries of *suluks*

proper of the older type were made by Drewes (Djāwā, vol. 7, 1927, *suluk Malaṅ Sumiraṅ*; TBG, vol. 70, 1930, *suluk Samsu Tabarit*), Poerbatjaraka (Djāwā, vol. 18, 1938, *suluk Wujil*) and Zoetmulder “Pan-*theisme en Monisme in de Javaansche ‘Soeloek-litteratuur’*”, 1935). “Indonesische ‘Handschriften’”, KBG, 1950, p. 139-173, contains Dutch summaries of many *suluks* made by Poerbatjaraka. Cod. 11.033 contains a list of names of *suluks* made by Soegiarto.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts, either *suluks* proper or religious poems called by that name for some reason, have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *suluk*.

14.910 Compendiums of *suluks*, mystic songs and poetic lessons on mysticism, of Central Javanese origin:

cod. 1795, 1796 (= 10.746, *suluk Jëbèn*), 1981 (= 10.748), 2003 (= 10.678 = BCB 161), 2017 (= 10.750), 2174, 6587 (Sukarsa), 6599, 6777.

14.920 Compendiums of *suluks*, mystic songs and poetic lessons on mysticism, of West Javanese, Cërbon origin:

cod. 7375 (= 10.776 = 8592), 7403 a, b (= 10.777), 7560 (= 10.768), 7561 (= 10.769), 7563 (= 10.774), 7564 (= 10.775, 7565), 7725, 7930.

14.930 *Suluks* and mystic treatises, mss from Madura and Bali:

cod. 5353 (*Malaṅ Sumiraṅ*, from Bali), 7503 (= 8583 = 10.764, Madura).

14.940 Compendiums of *suluks* and mystic didactic poems, recent:

cod. 6425 (*suluk Acih* = 10.755), 6519 (Citra Sëntana collection = 7568 = 10.765), 6608 (*suluk Walèh* = 10.759), 8608, 8610, 8613, KITLV Or 390,

KITLV Or 391.

14.950 *Suluk Sujinah*, extensive versions:
cod. 7566, NBS 52.

14.960 *Suluk Daka*, extensive version:
cod. 7819, 8448, 8587.

14.970 *Suluk Purwa Daksina*:
cod. 4001-IV (= 10.694 = BCB prtf 174), 8999.

14.980 *Suluk Purwa Sari Rasa*:
cod. 6515, 6610 (= 10.754).

14.990 *Suluk Samsu Tabrîz*, Samsu Tobarik, extensive version:
cod. 5604, 8591 (KBG *cod.* CS 115).

15.000 *Suluk Durun*, Baḍagas etc.:
cod. 2099-VI/XVII (= 10.752).

15.010 *Suluk Nala Kirḍa* — Amoṅ Raga, Surakarta origin:
cod. 6385 (= 10.753).

15.020 *Suluk Aspiya*, Surakarta origin:
cod. BCB prtf 46.

15.030 *Suluk Abësi* etc.:
cod. 7461 (= 10.771).

15.040 *Suluk Wujil* etc.:
cod. 8620 (KBG *cod.* 54).

15.050 *Suluk Duḍa* etc.:
cod. CB 30.

15.060 *Suluk Jati Rasa*:
cod. 8617 a (KBG *cod.* CS 151).

15.070 *Suluk Buruṅ* (Pëksi):
cod. 5776 b.

15.080 *Suluk Johar Muṅkin* etc.:
cod. 5783 b.

15.090 Popular devotional songs:
cod. 7920.

15.100 *Suluk Luwaṅ*:
cod. 2027-VIII (= 10.751).

15.200 Discussions on mysticism (still group A, 14.000). In religious schools of the old type (*ponḍoks*, *pasantrëns*) and in

communities of adepts of mysticism, Javanese religious literature was enriched with new books in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Legends of the saints and their deliberations (see 24.500, and 14.600, 14.800, 14.900) had always been appreciated. In a later period tales about Javanese mystic masters and their disputes were added. Probably these narrative and didactic books, written in order to provide religiously minded people with edifying and interesting reading-matter, contain both truth and fiction. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries anecdotic stories and legendary tales referring to the doings and lives of celebrated Javanese *kyahis* of the preceding centuries may have been current in the *ponḍoks*. As the inmates of religious schools used to travel widely all over Java in quest of instruction in holy lore, or simply in search of adventures, tales once current in the circles of the vagrant students spread easily all over the country. The personages appearing in the Jatiswara, Cabolaṅ and Cēṅṭini books all belong to the social group of vagrant students and *kyahis* of religious schools, living independent of temporal local rulers, only nominally acknowledging Royal authority. In the present Synopsis the Jatiswara, Cabolaṅ and Cēṅṭini books are registered in Part Three, Belles-Lettres (30.780) on account of the romantic tales which serve as framework.

In the texts which are registered under the present head the edifying and didactic element preponderates over the romantic. Nevertheless some texts contain anecdotic tales which may have been drawn from life.

Some mystic songs which have been registered under the preceding head also seem

to contain kernels of historic information concerning the fate of heterodox mystic masters (Lēmah Abaṅ, Aspiya). Nevertheless also in their case registering them in the present Part One seems preferable.

A remarkable fact is the inter-relationship between the present didactic tales belonging to the sphere of men of religion and the Nitik or Panitik tales referring to legendary exploits of great rulers (see 26.000). The Cabolèk tale is located in Kartasura, at the time the residence of the King of Central Java, and the Darma Gaṇḍul refers to the fate of the legendary last King of Majapahit. Probably the Nitik tales, though as a rule not didactic, but rather novellistic, were written and read in the same, or closely related, circles of popular men of religion as the tales of saints and mystic masters. Neither kind of narrative literature may have found, at first, much appreciation with learned scholars and noblemen. The Cabolèk tale became famous, though, in the version of the Surakarta Court poet Yasadipura.

On account of their lively style and generally interesting contents, books belonging to the present group of didactic narrative texts were published repeatedly by local publishing-houses in Java. The Cabolèk was published in 1886 (van Dorp, Sēmarāṅ), the Gaṭo Loco and the Darma Gaṇḍul were published by Tan Khoen Swie in Kaḍiri. In a book on Javanese religious speculation written by van Akkeren ("Een Gedrocht en toch de "Volmaakte Mens", 1951) the Suluk Gaṭo Loco has been edited and translated into Dutch. The author points to the ithyphallic concepts apparent in the poem, which probably are related to pre-Islamic religious speculation. Perhaps some inter-relationship

with the tale of the Half Man, Jaka Saléwah, who went in search of God (registered in Part Three, 30.770) is not improbable. The Darma Gaṇḍul has been discussed at length by Drewes ("The struggle between Javanism "and Islam as illustrated by the Sĕrat Dĕrma "Gaṇḍul", BKI vol. 122, 1966). This book contains encyclopedic didactic paragraphs on various subjects not closely related to mysticism. Both the Gaṭo Loco and the Darma Gaṇḍul, inter-related texts, are antagonistic to orthodox legalistic Islam: they propagate a kind of national Javanese Muslim mysticism.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts are indicated in the General Index under the catchwords *Cabolèk*, *Gaṭo Loco* and *Darma Gaṇḍul*.

15.210 Cabolèk discussions on mysticism, Bima Suci etc., in verse:

cod. 2325, 6373 a (= 7221 = BCB prtf 156), DFT S 240/280-18.

15.220 Gaṭo Loco discussions on mysticism, in verse:

cod. 5785, 6574, 8410.

15.230 Darma Gaṇḍul, discussions and speculations:

cod. 6795, 8990, 11.028.

15.240 Ḍaḍun Awuk, Darma Gaṇḍul, discussions in verse:

cod. BCB prtf 46.

15.250 Brata Tama, Yogyakarta version of Cabolèk tale, in verse:

cod. 8367.

15.300 Miscellaneous notes on mysticism (still group A, 14.000). In the nineteenth century there was a growing production of Javanese books of all kinds, probably in consequence of the increase of traffic and political stability. Religious litera-

ture belonging to both currents of Islam, legalistic-orthodox and mystic, flourished. The third current, the modernistic, did not become apparent before the last decades of the nineteenth century, and it was not particularly productive in the field of literature.

In mysticism, in the nineteenth century, the tradition of the legendary Javanese saints continued in force. Many books of notes written and read in circles of religiously minded people contain texts referring to the Nine Walis and their doctrines. Over and above those typically Javanese traditional lessons in mysticism (see 14.600, opinions of the saints), mystic indoctrination in Arabic style, by local representatives of grandmasters of international mystic fraternities, mostly residing in Mecca, came to the fore. Probably some of the great Arabic mystic fraternities, *ṭarīqas*, had been known for a long time in the Archipelago. Whereas in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries difficult, expensive and risky sea-voyages from Archipelago ports to Arabia kept people from performing the obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca, and from studying theology and mysticism in the holy land of Islam, in the nineteenth century contact with the religious centre in Arabia became easier in consequence of the facilities of modern traffic. In Java the Ṣaṭṭāriya and Naḵṣabandiya *ṭarīqas* had the greatest number of adherents.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century many books of notes, formerly belonging to *kyahis* in West Java, were collected or copied by Dr Snouck Hurgronje, at the time residing in Batavia (Djakarta). As usual the contents of these books is varied, even more so than the contents of

books of notes belonging to an earlier period, which have been registered in 14.010 ff.

Under the present head a rather amorphous mass of books of notes on mystic subjects has been collected. The majority is of West Javanese origin, formerly belonging to professor Snouck Hurgronje. They are written in Arabic script, and inserted passages in Sundanese and Malay are of frequent occurrence. Beside manuscripts in some way referring to *ṭarīḳas*, international mystic fraternities, books of notes written and studied by disciples of two mystic *kyahis* of Bañumas, Malaṅ Yuda and Nur Hakim, are put apart in the following list. They were men of great fame in their time. Professor Drewes' "Drie Javaansche Goeroe's, hun "Leven, Onderricht en Messiasprediking" (Leiden 1925) deals with these *kyahis*. Moreover a distinction has been made between manuscripts containing references to popular beliefs and customs, books of notes on mystic concepts in general, and manuscripts referring to Arabic treatises.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *mysticism*.

15.310 Notes with references to the ṣaṭṭā-rīya ṭarīḳa:

cod. 6457 b, 6461, 6584, 7385, 7386, 7397, 7413, 7429, 7433, 7446 (= 8585 a), 7449, 7455, 7459, 7463, 7467, 7471, 7486, 7490, 7499, 7500, 7501, 7526, 7533, 7537, 7545, 7574, 7575, 7592, 7599, 7618, 7717, 7721, 7738, 7753, 7756, 7759, 7764, 7857, 8572.

15.320 Notes with references to the Naḳṣa-bandīya ṭarīḳa:

cod. 7474, 7532.

15.330 Notes with references to the Ḳadārīya ṭarīḳa:

cod. 7448, 7518, 7664.

15.340 Notes with references to the Kama-liya or Akmalīya ṭarīḳa:

cod. 6439, 6551, 7423 b, 7702.

15.350 Notes on mysticism, ṭarīḳas, in general, miscellaneous:

cod. 5787, 7402, 7435, 7615, 7705, 7722.

15.360 Malaṅ Yuda books, with references to eschatology (see 16.210) and law (see 47.850 ff.):

cod. 5592 (= 7580), 7473, 7576, 7582, 7584.

15.370 Nur Hakim books:

cod. 7394, 7401 (pasrah rite), 7456, 7590, 7600.

15.380 Miscellaneous notes on mysticism and theology, mixed Javanese, Sundanese and Malay, with some references to Arabic texts:

cod. 5608, 6308, 6438, 7384, 7391, 7392, 7393, 7395 (Munasihat Jati), 7404, 7407, 7412, 7447, 7451, 7454, 7476, 7487, 7489, 7512, 7515, 7527, 7530, 7620, 7622 a, 7701, 7714, 7716 (= 6534), 7720, 7737, 7741, 7742, 7776, 8574, 8599 (KBG *cod.* 455), 10.808, KITLV Or 21 (Makripat Sajati).

15.390 Miscellaneous notes, incantations, popular customs, legendary history, erotics and divination, mixed Javanese, Sundanese and Malay:

cod. 5609, 5614, 6306, 6564, 7400, 7409, 7414, 7419, 7425, 7457, 7460, 7461, 7464, 7472, 7504, 7506 (= 8619-B: KBG *cod.* 60), 7511, 7514, 7519, 7534, 7541, 7559, 7606, 7747, 7748, 8534, 8639, 8652 i, 8960, 8982-V (Adam Sampurna).

15.400 Sasra Wijaya maguru pitulas, Yogyakarta treatise on seventeen mystics:

cod. 6605 (prose version), 11.088 (in verse).

15.410 Wirid, Wējaṅan, manuals, instructions in mystic lore, in prose:

cod. 6766, 7488, 8593.

15.420 Carakan mujur lan dibalik, acrostic on mysticism:

cod. 6778.

15.430 Notes on haji Mansur of Pandéglaṅ:

cod. 7418, 10.767.

15.440 Pictures, popular naturalistic and wayaṅ style, allegories, on mysticism and

eschatology:

cod. CB 28.

15.450 Sipat kalih dasa, God's 20 qualities located in the human body:

cod. NBS 81-VI (= 10.639 = BCB prtf 78).

15.460 Schematic figure drawn on a scroll, mystic:

cod. 8243.

15.500 Islamic religious practice, non-obligatory prayers and incantations (group B, 14.000).

In religious practice the obligatory daily ritual worship in Arabic, the *ṣalāt* (in Javanese mostly called *sěmbahyan*), of course takes priority of the non-obligatory, more or less free prayers which are not bound by a strict ritual. In Javanese books of notes on religious subjects the *ṣalāt* occupies an important place. Both its esoteric meaning in mystic speculations and its ritual performance as obligatory daily worship are subjects of many paragraphs in Javanese compendiums of religious lore. Those codexes which contain text on the ritual of daily worship, often combined with notes on other religious obligations imposed by holy law, such as the pilgrimage to Mecca and the fast, have been collected under a separate head (15.800).

Non-obligatory prayers (Arabic *duʿāʾ*, in Javanese pronunciation *doṅa* or *dowa*) are more or less free. Completely free prayers, said in the believers' native language, and referring to personal circumstances, are not mentioned in the manuscripts. But then, in Islamic religious literature a great number of Arabic prayers suitable for various occasions is provided. They were made by Muslim divines, and so their contents are

in harmony with the tenets of orthodox Islam. In Javanese books of notes the number of Arabic prayers is considerable. Sometimes they are provided with Javanese translations or paraphrases, sometimes only an indication as to which intention the prayer is suited, is found in the Javanese caption.

As a rule in circles of unschooled Javanese Muslims Arabic *doṅas* said by a *kyahi*, in public, on some occasion of local importance, made a considerable impression. As the Arabic words were incomprehensible, the danger of the strictly orthodox monotheistic texts being considered by ignorant people as magic formulas was obvious. In fact in Javanese books of notes Arabic prayers and downright magic formulas are often found side by side. In Part Four of the present Synopsis (40.250, on magic), the appearance of originally strictly religious prayers and incantations, both pre-Islamic and Muslim, in Javanese magic practices, will be mentioned. Essentially, Arabic prayers addressed to God according to the monotheistic tenets of Islam have little in common with Sanskrit and Old Javanese incantations addressed to the deities of the pre-Islamic pantheon of

Indian origin, such as have been registered under one of the previous heads (12.000). These ancient pre-Islamic incantations were also occasionally used for magic purposes, just like the Arabic prayers.

Under the present head manuscripts mainly containing non-obligatory Arabic prayers with Javanese translations or captions have been collected. A distinction has been made between compendiums of prayers for devotional religious practice (lauds, Arabic *dhikr*, Javanese *dikir*, and litanies, *rātib*) and collections of prayers which apparently were used side by side with magic formulas. Occasionally in codexes belonging to the latter group Javanese incantations are mentioned. Even in collections of strictly religious Arabic prayers, Javanese incantations of a theologically doubtful character occur. Codexes containing mainly incantations in Javanese have been registered separately under the next head (15.600). As usual all manuscripts contain notes on various other subjects beside prayers.

In Voorhoeve's "Handlist of Arabic manuscripts" (1957), sub voce *du'ā'*, a great number of codexes containing prayers, written in Java, are registered. Some are provided with Javanese notes or paraphrases. In that case they appear also in the present Synopsis of Javanese literature.

Relevant manuscripts are registered in the General Index under the catchword *prayer*.

15.510 Arabic prayers with Javanese notes:
cod. 5602, 5603, 5631 b, 5646, 5649, 5668, 6529, 6533, 7436, 7443, 7589 c, 7622 b, 7623, 7713, 7715, 7733, 7755, 7768, 7769, 8234, 8576, CB 29, AdKIT 2725/2, AdKIT 2725/3, AdKIT 2725/4, AdKIT 2725/6.

15.520 Notes on Arabic prayers and incantations mixed with magic etc.:

cod. 5001, 5465, 5600, 5617, 5618, 5619, 5654, 6571, 6575, 7186, 7398, 7424, 7450, 7483, 7493, 7494, 7536, 7707, 7744, 7757, 7760, 7775, 8575, 8618, CB 32.

15.600 J a v a n e s e i n c a n t a t i o n s (still group B, 14.000). In the Islamic period of Javanese cultural history original Arabic or translated and adapted Arabic texts were dominant in the province of religion. In some fields remnants of pre-Islamic religious concepts and customs survived, though. Survival of elements of pre-Islamic religion has already been mentioned in 14.200 with reference to old manuscripts written in so-called *buda* script.

Belief in spirits, local guardians of districts, patrons of children, etc. apparently was deeply rooted in the Javanese mind. It belonged to the indigenous sphere of thought, and it was often connected with ancestor worship. Incantations addressed to spirits, belonging to non-Islamic Javanese-Balinese literature, have been registered under 12.000. Probably local native spirits, and gods with Indian names, were not sharply distinguished in pre-Islamic Javanese and in Javanese-Balinese religion.

In the Islamic period incantations addressed to spirits (*lêlêmbut*, *ḍanyan*) made their appearance in Javanese literature. These spirits seem to have more of a Central Javanese local character. Their names are seldom mentioned in Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese literature. Probably their absence in incantations written down in the pre-Islamic period is a consequence of the East Javanese and Balinese origin of a con-

siderable part of pre-Islamic literature, in contradistinction to the literature of the Islamic period, which flourished in Central Java and the Pasisir districts.

In the Islamic period incantations of spirits were slightly tinged with Islam. Corrupt Arabic names make their appearance in the lists. Sometimes the best known poetic incantations are attributed by Javanese tradition to saints of Islam as authors, in the same manner as the Javanese wayaꦱ and gamelan music (see 31.080, 41.600 and 43.000). This cannot be true. Perhaps the explanation is as follows. Islam, represented by the saints, loosened an ancient bond of sacral secrecy and secularized several elements of pre-Islamic religious ritual. In consequence some ancient religious texts may have developed into semi-profane or popular literature.

A few incantations of spirits written in the Islamic period are in prose, by this fact resembling comparable texts of an earlier period (see 12.000). The majority are versified. In modern Javanese, incantations in verse are called *kiduꦱ*, song. There is some reason to suppose that incantations, though only appearing in written literature in the Islamic period, belong to a very old stratum of Javanese culture. It is a fact that the *panakawans* of the wayaꦱ theatre, Semaꦱ etc., are regularly singing songs. Semaꦱ's function as an exorcist is apparent in many wayaꦱ plays and literary texts. Originally his songs, regular features in all wayaꦱ performances, may have been incantations, connected with exorcism. There is no doubt that the appearance of the *panakawans*, cunning servants and mentors of the hero of the tale, belongs to an early period of

the development of Javanese literature (see 22.900 and 30.080).

It seems possible that the *kiduꦱ* incantations exercised a decisive influence on the development of native Javanese metrics, so-called *macapat* metres (see 00070, 14.600 and 17.100). Perhaps in olden times there were officiants of certain exorcist rites in Java (*paꦁkur* etc.) whose incantations became secularized in the course of time. Some metres and tunes of songs of a later period may have been imitations or adaptations of the ancient incantations, and these metres retained the names of the ancient exorcists.

Among the poetic incantations which have been registered under the present head, the Kiduꦱ Rumeksa iꦁ Wẽꦁi, Song Guarding at Night, is the best known. It was published by local printers in Java. In Javanese-Balinese literature it is known under the name Aji Bẽliyas (see 12.030). Probably it was introduced in Bali in the eighteenth century.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *incantation* and *kiduꦱ*. Not all texts called *kiduꦱ* are incantations, however.

15.610 Incantations in prose, mixed with magic:

cod. 6628, 7746, 7762, 7901.

15.620 Incantations in verse, Kiduꦱ Rumeksa iꦁ Wẽꦁi, Kiduꦱ Lẽlẽmbut, Danyaꦱan:
cod. 4000 (= 10.659 = BCB prtf 81), 5060, 5537, 5777, 7468, 7528, 7546, NBS 319.

15.630 Incantations in verse, miscellaneous kiduꦱs:

cod. 4940, 6624, 7223, 7703, 7766, 8971 (Asma'u 'l-Kusni), AdKIT 1471-1.

15.700 Orthodox Islam, Kur'an, Religious Instruction, Ritual and Theology
(group C, 14.000).

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Islam became the accepted religion of a majority of the Javanese people, and in the course of time Indian religious concepts fell into the background. Probably in the beginning the new religion appealed mainly to middle-class people, traders and artisans in towns and boroughs, and to followers of popular masters in religious lore residing in *maṇḍalas* (afterwards called *poṇḍoks*, see 14.000).

No doubt since the beginning of Javanese Islam textbooks of religious instruction have been in use, also in the *poṇḍoks* of masters in mysticism. *Ḳur'ān* recitation has always been an important element of religious practice. In the present Synopsis, texts connected with mysticism (group A: 14.010—15.300) and texts on prayers and incantations (group B: 15.500—15.600) have been given precedence of texts on common religious instruction (the present group C: 15700—16.000), merely because the two first-named groups are more characteristic of Javanese Islam, and more productive of typical Javanese literary works, than the last-named group.

Instruction in the difficult art of reciting the Arabic *Ḳur'ān sūras* has always been one of the elements of an orthodox Muslim religious education. In connection with the *Ḳur'ān* study for ritual purposes, the holy text was also explained to the pupils, and the manuscript was provided with interlinear Javanese glosses in the same manner as other Arabic texts. Editions of Javanese *Ḳur'ān* translations are registered in Uhlenbeck's "The Languages of Java" (p. 54).

In Voorhoeve's "Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts" (1957, p. 277) many *Ḳur'ān* codexes provided with Javanese interlinear glosses are registered. Relevant manuscripts have been listed in the General Index under the catchword *Ḳur'ān*. Only the following codexes have been registered under the present head, on account of the more or less complete Javanese paraphrases of the Arabic text which they contain.

15.710 *Kur'an paraphrases:*

cod. 2097, 2244 A-11, NBS 118, BrKMA 6646.

15.800 *Textbooks of Muslim religious instruction* (still group C, 14.000). In pious Muslim circles in Java the Five Pillars of Islam, the creed, the *ṣalāt*, the fast, the pilgrimage to Mecca and the *zakāt* have always been well-known. In religious schools the pupils were given instruction regarding these matters by means of textbooks, which as a rule were in Arabic. The pupil provided the text with Javanese interlinear glosses as he heard the master's explanation, or the textbook already had the glosses when the pupil received it. Among the most popular textbooks of this kind were the *Sittin*, primarily on religious duties, ritual etc., and the *Samarḳandi*, a catechism, on the creed. In Voorhoeve's "Handlist" (1957) many Arabic codexes of these and related texts, often beginning with *Bayān*, provided with Javanese interlinear glosses, are registered (p. 43 ff., p. 342 ff.). In the Synopsis of Javanese literature it is superfluous to enumerate all Arabic texts provided with

Javanese glosses (see 14.000, conclusion).

Under the present head some manuscripts containing relatively old Javanese religious textbooks based on Arabic treatises have been collected. The popular Sittin was versified, and so it was sometimes called a *suluk*, a song. Perhaps in some communities it was sung in the same manner as the mystical *suluk*s which have been discussed under a previous head (14.900).

In common Muslim religious instruction the distinction made between the creed and catechism on the one hand, and ritual and religious obligations on the other, is not very sharp. The two last-named elements of Islamic religion are considered by Muslim divines as belonging to *fiqh*, religious Law. The textbooks registered under the present head contain both catechism and *fiqh* instruction. Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *catechism*, *ṣalāt*, *fast*, *Mecca*. Common law also belongs to *fiqh* (according to Muslim religious tenets). In the present Synopsis such (according to modern scholarly notions) strictly juridical *fiqh* texts have been registered in Part Four, under *law* (48.000).

15.810 Old catechism and textbook of religious instruction, from Kudus:

cod. 3050.

15.820 Notes on the creed and religious duties, Arabic and Javanese:

cod. 4885, 5470, 5682, 5685-V, 5686, 5717, 5720, 5726, 7162, 7164, 7169, 7734 and 7773 (Sittin ḥāṣil), 7767 (Kifāyatu 'l-Aw-wām), 8491 (Zawāl al Māni'āt, on menses).

15.830 Catechism in verse, *suluk* Sittin:

cod. 2000 (= 10.749).

15.840 Masā'il al-Muhtadi li Ikhwāni 'l-Muhtadi, primer of religion, theology and *fiqh*:

cod. 5748, 7478, 7749, 7772.

15.850 Masā'il, versified in quatrains:

cod. 6550.

15.860 Notes on the rules of the Mecca pilgrimage, Rukun Haji:

cod. 5730, 7036, 7177, 7758, 7778.

15.870 List of textbooks on Islam used in religious schools:

cod. 7710.

16.000 Didactic treatises and poems on Islam (still group C, 14.000). In the nineteenth century the Javanese textbooks of theology, ritual and religious law, which were translations of Arabic treatises, developed into independent Javanese books. In accordance with the Javanese literary custom of the time, many of those adapted religious textbooks were written in verse. In order to make a distinction between wordly belletristic poems written in so-called *macapat* metres and orthodox Muslim didactic poetry, sometimes a Malay metre was used for the latter kind (see 00060). The relationship of Javanese Islamic literature with Malay writings became increasingly apparent in the nineteenth century, as interinsular communications were easy and frequent. Gradually the number of pilgrims to Mecca increased, and during the long passage and their stay in the holy land of Islam many Javanese learned to use Malay as the specifically Indonesian idiom of international Islam.

Under the present head primarily the works of Ahmad Ripaṅi (ar-Rifā'i) of Kali

Salak (Bataŋ, Residency of Pěkaloraŋ) are to be mentioned. In the middle and the second half of the nineteenth century he wrote a considerable number of didactic books on Muslim religion, most of them in the above mentioned Malay metre, and some in prose. He gave his books high-sounding Arabic names, imitations of titles of Arabic and Malay learned treatises. They were always written in Arabic script. His numerous pupils and admirers circulated his writings in many copies all over the country. They were never printed, as far as known. They contain lengthy lessons on Muslim religious lore in general. The style is commonplace.

Beside Ahmad Ripaŋi, other authors produced didactic religious treatises in the same period. Some of them were still influenced by Javanese mystic literature as discussed under previous heads (see 15.300). Others produced didactic-moralistic poems only slightly tinged with Javanese mysticism (see 17.400). Probably Ahmad Ripaŋi was more orthodox and practical than most of his rivals, and therefore he had a greater number of followers. Though trying to the utmost he did not wholly succeed in steering clear of conflicts with the Dutch Government. He was suspected of subversive activities directed against the rule of unbelievers, and eventually he was sent in exile to the island of Ambon (see a note by R. A. Kern in TBG vol. 65, 1925, p. 362 and a list of Ahmad Ripaŋi's works in Jaarboek KBG vol. I, 1933, p. 239-243).

Manuscripts containing relevant texts are

indicated in the General Index under the catchwords *Ahmad*, *Ripaŋi* and *didactic*.

16.010 Didactic poems on Muslim theology and religious law by Ahmad Ripaŋi of Kali Salak:

cod. 1939 (Ri'āyat al-Himma), 6617 (Naẓm Kaifiya), 6944 (Ri'āyat al-Himma), 7520 (Tanbīh), 7521 (Ḥusn al-Maṭālib), 7522 (Taḥyīra), 7523 a-c (Abyān al-Ḥawā'iğ), 7524 (Naẓm Arfa'), 8489 (Munawwir al-Himma), 8565 (Aṭlab), 8566 (Naẓm Tadhkiya, Ri'āyat al-Himma), 8567 (Taṣrīḥat al-Muḥtāğ), 8568 (Šarḥ al-Īmān), 8569 (Taṣfiya etc.), 8570 (Ḥusn al-Maṭālib), 8571 (Taḥsīna), 8590 (Ḥusn al-Maṭālib), 11.001 (Bayān, Imdād), 11.002 (Ri'āyat al-Himma), 11.003 (Ri'āyat al-Himma), 11.003 (Ri'āyat al-Himma), 11.004 (Taḥyīra, Tanbīh, Ṭarīqa), KITLV Or 22 (letters).

16.020 Didactic treatise on Muslim theology:

cod. 6548 (Agami Jawi).

16.030 Javanese notes on Muslim theology, religious law, partly in verse:

cod. 5596, 6593, 6989, 7380, 7432, 7805 (Muḥtaṣar, Sapiŋi in verse), 7899, 8488, 8547, 8548, 8549, 9007, 10.760, 10.872, 10.876, NBS 297.

16.040 Kadis Kudsi, religious treatise in verse:

cod. 7396.

16.050 Kèŋṭol Anom, Javanese version of Ĕŋṭol Anom, Madurese didactic poem:

cod. 2313.

**16.200 Edifying Literature, Eschatology
(group D, 14.000).**

Islamic eschatology, referring to a righteous King setting right what seems wrong in the world, has exercised a considerable influence in Javanese religiously minded circles, probably from an early date. The turbulent character of Javanese political history, causing much distress to the rural population by the passing of armies and the depredations of banditti, prompted authors to write treatises containing promises of a better time to come in a near future.

Under a separate head of Part Two, History, of the present Synopsis (25.200), the *Jaya Baya* prophecies will be discussed. These texts refer to the course of political history of Java as revealed to a legendary King of the pre-Islamic kingdom of Kaḍiri. Perhaps they contain elements belonging to pre-Islamic, Old Javanese and Indian religious speculation on the periods of world-history.

Islamic Messianic (Mahdi) expectations were couched in Arabic treatises containing information on the approaching Judgment and adhortations addressed to sinners to mend their ways during the short time still allowed to them. Arabic treatises of that kind, allegedly written by pious divines in Mecca, circulated in Java. Javanese translations and adaptations, often in verse, are known under the name *Kabar Kiyamat*. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries some blending of *Kabar Kiyamat* elements with *Jaya Baya* prophecies was apparent.

In the nineteenth century, probably on account of the unrest and Mahdi expectations apparent everywhere in the Muslim world

at the time, eschatological and Messianic treatises became very popular in Java. The expectation of the coming of the Ratu Adil, the Righteous King, tended to become a menace to the Dutch Government, and so the propagators of Messianic doctrines were prosecuted. Some of them used to take advantage of the common people's credulity by urging buyers of cheap Messianic tracts to show their repentance by giving liberal fees to those who gave warning. Drewes's thesis "*Drie Javaansche Goeroe's, hun Leven, On-derricht en Messias-prediking*", Leiden, 1925, deals with Javanese Messianic preachers.

Under the present head manuscripts containing Islamic eschatological texts and Javanese *Kabar Kiyamat* treatises, mostly in verse, have been collected. Relevant texts have been listed in the General Index under the catchwords *eschatology*, *Kabar Kiyamat*, *Mahdi*, *Ratu Adil* and *Waṣīyat*.

16.210 Notes on Islamic eschatology, Arabic and Javanese:

cod. 5775 (*Kabar Kiyamat* 1861-'62), 7175 (= 6536), KITLV H 593.

16.220 Notes on Messianic expectations, Ratu Adil, Panaraga:

cod. 6565.

16.230 Notes on Javanese Ratu Adil expectations, Malaṅ Yuda, Bañumas, and his disciples:

cod. 5612, 7577, 7578, 7579, 7583, 7585, 7586, 7587, 7588.

16.240 *Kabar Kiyamat*, eschatological treatises in verse:

cod. 2293, 4710, 6718, 7497, CB 31, AdKIT 572/3.

16.250 *Waṣīyatu 'l-Nabī*, eschatology:
cod. 2187, 8579.

16.400 *Edifying Muslim texts in verse and in prose* (still group D, 14.000). Probably Javanese communities, on their conversion to Islam in the sixteenth century, became at the same time acquainted with Muslim mysticism (see 14.00—15.300), theology and religious law (see 15.500—16.200) and edifying, didactic and moralistic literature (16.400—16.500). The source material was always in Arabic, and in many cases Malay treatises were intermediary between Arabic and Javanese texts.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, religious literature in Javanese developed a style of its own, parallel with secular literature, preferring lengthy books in verse to prose treatises. The same development is apparent in belletristic literature based on Islamic (Persian) cycles of tales, e.g. the *Amir Hamza* epic. In Java this epic was adapted and amplified till it was considerably larger in size than the original tale. In Part Three, *Belles-Lettres*, of the present Synopsis the development of eighteenth and nineteenth century Javanese narrative poetry will be discussed (30.460).

In consequence of the preference shown to later poetic versions, earlier prose versions of edifying and moralistic Muslim texts scarcely survived. Perhaps in some cases poetical versions were written by Javanese authors, residents of Pasisir districts, who were practically bilingual. They could use a Malay text or even the original Arabic book to make their Javanese amplified poetic

versions. A Javanese prose text was not needed.

Under the present head some compendiums of edifying tales, mostly in verse, are listed. The most popular collection refers to the life of the celebrated twelfth century Muslim saint 'Abdu'l-Kādir al-Gilānī (or: al-Gailānī). The book was translated into Dutch and discussed (but not edited) by Drewes and Poerbatjaraka in their "*Mira-kelen van Abdoelkadir Djaelani*" (KBG, *Bibliotheca Javanica* vol. 8, 1938). The text has been published by local printers in Java. It is extremely popular reading-matter in West Java, where orthodox Muslim piety is more commonly found than in Central Java. A Sundanese version is in evidence. The Malay prose version is known under the name *Hikayat Sèh*. In West Java chapters of the Javanese text are occasionally sung in meetings of religiously minded people.

Other compendiums of edifying tales are based on books written by Arabic authors who borrowed their material from the huge mass of Muslim religious Tradition, in Arabic called *Ḥadīth*. Therefore Javanese edifying tales of this kind are often called *Kadis*. Arabic *Ḥadīth* was intermediary in making Javanese and other South-East Asian Muslims acquainted with ancient tales and myths originally belonging to the Mediterranean and Near Eastern civilizations. In consequence of the long way they had to travel, Old Testament tales in Javanese garb sometimes show considerable differences from the Hebrew Bible prototypes. Of course Javanese biographies of Muhammad and histories of his exploits mostly are exact reflections of Arabic tradition. In the Second Part, *History*, of the present Synop-

sis, under the heads Anbiya, Piragon and Muhammad (21.700—22.000), Javanese legendary history of Islamic antiquity based on Arabic Ḥadīth will be discussed.

Properly speaking, the history of Joseph in Egypt also belongs to this group, but then, in East Java and Madura, the Javanese Carita Yusup developed into a lengthy poem, the most popular reading-matter of the country-side. Therefore in the present Synopsis the Yusup is registered under a separate head in Part Three, Belles Lettres (30.520). Considered as popular books, the East Javanese Carita Yusup is comparable with the West Javanese Abdul Kadir. Many Yusup manuscripts contain inserted passages with edifying religious meditations. The Abdul Kadir tales, being biographical and referring to a venerated Master in mysticism, are closer to religious edifying literature than the more purely narrative Carita Yusup is. In this connection it is worth noting that as a rule Yusup manuscripts are written in Javanese script, whereas many manuscripts of the Abdul Kadir tales are in Arabic characters.

Probably the Mikrad tale in Javanese verse, dealing with Muhammad's Ascension (Mi'rāğ) to Heaven, was read in some religious communities as a ritual text on the occasion of the annual commemoration on the 27th of the month Rağab. A Yogyakarta version made by order of a Queen is remarkable for its composition, which is reminiscent of wayaṅ theatre plays.

The text on the Prophet's shaving, Paras Nabi, was very popular. It was considered as referring to Muhammad's initial consecration as God's Messenger. Sometimes the Paras Nabi poem is found in manuscripts

together with Javanese incantations, like the Kiduṅ Rumēksa iṅ Wēṅi (see 15.620). Perhaps in some religious communities it was sung occasionally as a hymn.

The Kabar Naraka is a poetical version of the conversation of nabi Nisa (Jesus) with a skull (*paṭak*). It tells him about the conditions in Hell.

Relevant manuscripts are indicated in the General Index under the catchwords *Abdul Kadir, edifying, Kadis, Mikrad, Paras Nabi*.

16.410 Abdul Kadir Jailani biography in verse:

cod. 3124, 3358, 5601, 6468, 6560 (KBG, Brandes no 17), 6577, 7411 (= 10.762), 7422 (= 10.761), NBS 393, DFT S 240/280-46.

16.420 Carita Satus, edifying tales of the prophets, by Abu Hanifa, prose:

cod. NBS 40.

16.430 Mikrad, Muhammad's Ascension to Heaven, in verse:

cod. 5039 (from Lombok), 6390 (from Yogyakarta), 6776 (= 10.837).

16.440 Paras Nabi, Muhammad's Shaving, in prose and in verse:

cod. 3191 (from Lombok), 7712, 9001.

16.450 Kabar Naraka, Sērat Paṭak, in verse:

cod. 5769.

16.460 Maṛṣa Carita Kuna, moralistic stories:

cod. 8983 no 3.

16.470 Glorification of Muhammad:

cod. 5613.

16.500 Islamic didactic-moralistic texts (still group D, 14.000). It is difficult to make a distinction in Javanese Muslim religious literature between

edifying and didactic-moralistic texts. Probably both groups developed together from Arabic texts, and in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries lengthy Javanese poems were written by authors whose aim was both religious edification and education. In the present Synopsis edifying texts have been registered under a separate head on account of their connection with devotional practice, ritual and popular religious custom. Occasionally they were sung or recited in religious meetings. Didactic-moralistic texts were not written to be recited in public. Remotely comparable didactic texts of the pre-Islamic period have been registered in 13.400.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there arose a new interest in pre-Islamic literature. In the period of this classical renaissance Javanese authors studied some moralistic texts which contained survivals of Old Javanese literature. They will be discussed under a separate head (17.000). Influence of these Old Javanese moralistic lessons on didactic poems written by Muslim authors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is evident.

Under the present head some compendiums of positive Islamic didactic and moralistic texts are collected. Mostly the texts are based on Arabic books belonging to so-called wordly *adab* literature. In many cases a connection with Ḥadīth tales is evident, however. In the same manner as mentioned under the preceding head, Malay books sometimes served as intermediaries between Arabic and Javanese authors, though in other cases the Javanese authors apparently were sufficiently well versed in Arabic learning to be able to dispense with intermediaries. Books on classical Malay

literature and catalogues of the collections of Malay manuscripts in Djakarta (van Ronkel, *Verhandelingen KBG*, vol. 57, 1909) and Leiden (Juynboll, 1899 and van Ronkel, 1921) are to be consulted to find Malay parallel texts of the Javanese didactic-moralistic poems which are discussed under the present head.

Didactic-moralistic texts of a later period, not closely connected with religious tenets, but showing more original Javanese or Old Javanese characteristics, will be discussed under separate heads of the present Part One (17.600—18.500).

The *Tāḡu 's-Salātīn*, allegedly written by Imam Bukari (al-Bukhārī) is the only text of this group of old didactic-moralistic Javanese books of Arabic origin which has been published (Sēmaran). In Poerbatjaraka's opinion ("Kapustakan Djawi", 1952, p. 149) the *Taju Salatin* text was modernized and edited by the early nineteenth century Surakarta Court poet Yasadipura. The name Bustam is reminiscent of the *Bustān as-Salātīn* by ar-Ranīrī, written in Malay. The Nawawi seems to be an adaptation of a part of ar-Ranīrī's work. The Samud ibnu Salam text is the subject-matter of Pijper's thesis: "Het Boek der Duizend Vragen", (Leiden, 1924). The *Samarun* tale was discussed by van Ronkel in TBG vol. 43, 1901.

In "Ind. Handschriften" (1950), Poerbatjaraka registered the *Samarun* and Imam Nawawi with the *Pasantrèn* literature, i.e. the literature of Muslim religious communities, together with a number of Islamic romances. In the present Synopsis the romances are discussed in Part Three, *Belles-Lettres*, (30.500 ff.).

References to relevant manuscripts are

to be found in the General Index under the catchwords *didactic* and *moralistic*, *Taju Salatin*, *Narwarwi* etc.

16.510 Taju Salatin, by Imam Bukari, didactic moralistic tales in verse:

cod. 1821, 2050, 5766 (fragment), NBS 51, DFT S 171-13.

16.520 Bustam, Bustan, didactic-moralistic, in verse:

cod. 1815, 6411.

16.530 Imam Nawawi, didactic-moralistic, in verse:

cod. 1812 (= 10.740 = BCB prtf 220), 2317 (fragment, Kasanah = 8562-I).

16.540 Maknawi book, didactic-moralistic, in verse:

cod. 2051.

16.550 Samud ibnu Salam, the Jew questioning the Prophet, in verse:

cod. 4001 (= 10.691 = BCB prtf 174), RtMLV 27.778.

16.560 Samarun and Mariyah, didactic romance in verse:

cod. 5439, 4001-II (= 10.692 = BCB prtf 174).

16.600 Allegoric didactic poems (still group D, 14.000). Allegorical tales as a means of spreading religious and moralistic lessons are found already in Old Javanese literature. In the Islamic period mystic songs, *suluks*, often contain allegories. Birds are well-known personages appearing in discussions on mystic subjects, but the bird poems cannot be called strictly allegorical.

In the eighteenth century some allegorical

romances containing religious and moralistic instruction were written in the Pasisir districts of Java. Some influence of Muslim religious edifying literature in Arabic or in Malay, introduced from abroad, seems probable.

In the same period several Islamic romances were written in the Pasisir districts (see Part Three, Belles-Lettres 30.560 ff., Johar Manikam, Johar Sah etc.). Inter-relationship of the present allegorical poems with those, merely romantic tales is likely.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts are indicated in the General Index under the catchword *allegory*.

16.610 Mësir-ulah, allegoric religious poem:

cod. 6625.

16.620 Pañcendriya, allegoric didactic tale in verse, West Javanese origin:

cod. 4001-III (= 10.693 = BCB prtf 174), NBS 268, NBS 270.

16.630 Wujut Tunggal, allegoric romantic poem:

cod. 4911.

16.640 Suksma Winasa (or Samarkandi), allegoric romantic poem, East Javanese origin:

cod. 3842 (= 10.621 = BCB prtf 73), 10.743.

16.650 Samarkandi romance (cf. Suksma Winasa), allegoric romantic poem, East Javanese origin:

cod. 9014.

16.660 Suluk Pañca Driya, allegoric didactic poem:

cod. 11.088-II.

16.800 Islamic religious texts from Bali and Lombok
(group E, 14.000).

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Muslim traders and native neophytes did not succeed in overturning the old pre-Islamic order of religion and society in Bali in the same manner as they did in Java and most of the other islands of the Archipelago (see 14.000). Though Islam did not become the dominant religion in Bali, still Muslim communities, partly of foreign origin, settled in some districts, notably on the North and West coast. Apparently they were tolerated by the Balinese rulers for economic reasons. They kept up a regular trade with foreign countries and provided the isolated agricultural, sacerdotal and aristocratic communities in the interior of the island with commodities not produced in Bali.

In Lombok, probably not before the beginning of the seventeenth century, local chiefs were converted to Islam by Javanese traders coming from Grěsik. In the eighteenth century a Balinese kingdom was established in the western part of the island, and the native Sasak Muslims came under the rule of unbelievers. Probably from the eighteenth century onwards native Muslim communities in Lombok and isolated Muslim groups in Bali had frequent contacts.

Both in Bali and in Lombok Muslim communities, though independent *in religiosis*, were living under the rule of unbelievers, and in a way they were influenced by their Balinese surroundings. Islamic religious texts and Islamic traditional history were translated into the Javanese-Balinese literary idiom. Manuscripts containing Islamic texts were often written in Balinese

script, though Arabic script was well-known, of course. On the other hand Muslim influence is apparent in several non-Islamic Balinese texts on magic etc. and also in some non-Islamic Balinese religious speculations.

Owing to their isolated position and their numerical weakness, Muslim communities in Bali did not produce a flourishing literature. Probably several elements of Islamic religious culture which found expression in literary works in Java, such as mystic songs, eschatologic poetry and edifying books, were practically unknown in Bali, or they existed only in a rudimentary state. Under the present head manuscripts of Balinese origin containing various Islamic religious texts have been collected. Short didactic and speculative poems allegedly written by Tuwan Sumėru (Smėru) are prominent in this group.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts, also non-Islamic Javanese-Balinese texts showing some Muslim influence, have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Islam* (influence) and *Muslim*.
16.810 Krama Sėlam, seventeenth century Javanese-Balinese prose treatise on Muslim theology and mysticism:

cod. CB 63 (= prtf 43 b).

16.820 Javanese-Balinese didactic and speculative poems on Islam (Tuwan Smėru, Cowak):

cod. 3640, 3862, 3895, 3920, 3925, 3933.

16.830 Compendiums of short speculative Javanese-Balinese poems with Muslim influence:

cod. 3698 (= 3874), 3883, 3986, 5195.

16.840 Notes on Muslim religious subjects, Javanese-Balinese, in verse:

cod. 3892, 9000.

16.900 Islamic religious texts from Lombok (still group E, 14.000). In Lombok in the Muslim community a distinction was made between *Waktu Tělu* and *Waktu Lima* people (see: G. H. Bousquet, "Recherches sur les deux sectes "musulmanes ("waktou telou" et "waktou "lima") de Lombok". *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, Paris, 1939, 2). The names, Three Times and Five Times, were believed to refer to the number of obligatory ritual prayers, *salāts*, to be said every day by the faithful. Perhaps the distinction in two groups is a survival of a pre-Islamic indigenous bipartition of tribal society, which has been found in several islands of the Archipelago (see Duyvendak, "Het Kakéan verbond "van Céram"). Manuscripts containing texts referring to the *Waktu Tělu* and *Waktu Lima* division have been registered under the head History of Lombok (22.700) in Part Two of the present Synopsis. In modern times the spread of Islamic orthodoxism caused the old distinction and the old names to disappear.

The Muslims of Lombok, converted probably in the seventeenth century, developed a literature in their native tongue, the Sasak language. This Sasak literature falls outside the scope of the present Synopsis of Javanese literature; it is not discussed here. Since the conquest of their island in the eighteenth century, the Sasaks lived under Balinese rule. They had frequent contacts with Balinese people, among them Muslims.

So Javanese-Balinese Islamic religious texts spread in Lombok, and several manuscripts from Lombok contain treatises originally written in Bali. On the other hand Sasaks also used to visit the neighbouring island. After a time, speaking Balinese, they felt at home there.

It is not easy to make a distinction between the Javanese-Balinese Islamic texts of Balinese origin and those from Lombok. The manuscripts from Lombok which have been registered contain rather non-descript texts on Islamic theology and mysticism, probably imitations of treatises of Javanese, Balinese or Malay origin. Javanese-Balinese texts containing explicit information on the *Waktu Tělu* and *Waktu Lima* division, other than the histories of Lombok mentioned above (see 22.700), are not known to the present author. (See, however, *cod.* 6235, in Malay).

In Part Three, Belles-Lettres, some Javanese-Balinese romances from Lombok, partly showing influence of Islam, will be discussed (30.430).

Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been listed in the General Index under the catchword *Lombok*.

16.910 Notes on Muslim theology and mysticism, prose, from Lombok:

cod. 5149, REM 2410-18, Teeuw 13.

16.920 Didactic poems on Islam and Muslim mysticism, from Lombok:

cod. 5280, 10.329 (Gunuṅ Jati: Krt 10.065), 10.347 (Lala Dunya: Krt 10.099), dHIMvO 1251.

16.930 Paṅéran Saṅu Pati, didactic poem on Islam:

cod. 10.338 (Krt 10.087).

**17.000 Didactic-moralistic literature slightly influenced by Islam
(group F, 14.000).**

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Courts of mercantile rulers on the North Coast, and the residences of venerated masters of mystic lore in those districts, were the principal centres of Islamic studies and Javanese scholarship. It was the period of the Pasisir culture. The change in religion and the acquaintance with Islamic literature written in either Arabic or Malay had a far-reaching influence in the field of Javanese letters. Books by Javanese authors of the time, especially religious, historical and belletristic books, evidently belong to the sphere of international Islamic civilization. In Part Two, History, and Part Three, Belles-Lettres, of the present Synopsis, the Muslim influence appearing in the period of the Pasisir culture in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will be discussed at some length (see 22.200 and 30.460).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, authors of historical and belletristic books continued to cultivate the pre-Islamic literary tradition, notwithstanding their Muslim faith. In Parts Two and Three of the present Synopsis this conservatism of Javanese historical and belletristic literature is clearly apparent. Even in the present Part One, Religion and Ethics, there is reason to discuss some moralistic and didactic books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which evidently are imitations or adaptations of pre-Islamic texts. Undoubtedly the authors were Muslims. Probably they were learned Court scholars, colleagues of the lawyers who in the same period, at the Courts of the Pasisir rulers, made adap-

tations of Old Javanese lawbooks, or they were at least congenial spirits. The Javanese lawbooks of the Pasisir period (Surya Nalam, Jugul Muḍa, Papakēm Cërbon) will be discussed in Part Four of the present Synopsis (47.400 and 47.600).

From a social point of view the Court scholars are to be distinguished from the Muslim divines who made Javanese adaptations of Arabic or Malay books on theology and religious law (see 15.700—16.600). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the authors of religious books, those belonging to the mystic current of Islam (see 14.000) and the more rigidly orthodox ones (see 15.700), lived in communities of their own (the *ponḍoks* and the *kaumans*). It seems probable, however, that in the old centres of the Pasisir culture, in East Java and Cërbon, the connection between the Courts and the communities of learned divines was closer than afterwards in Central Java, in the period of the renaissance of classical literature.

In the seventeenth century, at the Javanese Courts, a collection of Old Javanese moralistic maxims in Indian metres, called Niti Sastra or Paniti Sastra, was studied. Probably in the circle of Court scholars it was considered as a summary of ancient wisdom in the field of ethics. Muslim influence is not in evidence. Several maxims are Old Javanese adaptations of Sanskrit ślokas. The seventeenth century Javanese scholars' text of the Niti Sastra was rather corrupt, and their knowledge of the Old Javanese literary idiom was insufficient.

Nevertheless they studied the text assiduously. Their method of making Javanese paraphrases was similar to that practised by the Javanese-Balinese scholars in Bali, who explained the Old Javanese epic poems by means of interlinear glosses. In a way the study of the Niti Sastra text by seventeenth and eighteenth century Court scholars can be put on a parallel with the study of Arabic religious books by Muslim divines of the same period.

In the nineteenth century the study of the Niti Sastra maxims was taken up again by the Court scholars who initiated the renaissance of classical Javanese literature in Surakarta. A version in so-called *kawi miriṅ*, i.e. in Indian metres, but using a modernized poetical idiom, is known. Poerbatjaraka ("Kapustakan Djawi", 1952) has interesting notes on Paniti Sastra versions, made by the Surakarta Court poets Yasadipura I and Yasadipura II. In Poerbatjaraka's opinion several more well-known Javanese books (Darma Sunya, Déwa Ruci, Ménak, Anbiya and Taju Salatin) were given their present form by the gifted Surakarta Court poets.

The Old Javanese Niti Sastra was edited, translated into Dutch and annotated by Poerbatjaraka (KBG, Bibliotheca Javanica vol. 4, 1933). The text has been discussed under a previous head (13.710). A modern Javanese prose paraphrase was published in Batavia in 1871.

Under the present head manuscripts containing Niti Sastra texts belonging to the Islamic period have been collected. Compendiums often contain Niti Sastra texts in combination with comparable moralistic texts such as Niti Sruti and Papali. Relevant manuscripts have been listed in the General

Index under the catchwords *Niti Sastra*, *Paniti Sastra* and *kawi miriṅ*.

17.010 Paniti Sastra, Old Javanese version according to the eighteenth century Central Javanese tradition, with paraphrase, kawi miriṅ:

cod. 1853, 1863, 2031, NBS 130.

17.020 Paniti Sastra, modern versions in macapat metres:

cod. 1851, 3176, NBS 77, NBS 78.

17.030 Paniti Sastra, modern version in prose:

cod. NBS 73.

17.040 Paniti Sastra, old Dutch translation, Surakarta, 1815:

cod. DFT S 240/280-28.

17.100 Didactic poetry, seventeenth century (still group F, 14.000). The study of the Paniti Sastra text, discussed under the preceding head, required a thorough knowledge of the Old Javanese literary idiom. Some authors of the Pasisir period who did not possess such knowledge composed didactic-moralistic poems, containing both reminiscences of pre-Islamic books and references to the international literature of Islam. In writing those poems they used the Javanese metres which originally belonged i.a. to ancient native incantations or religious songs, the so-called *macapat*-metres (see 00070, 14.600 and 15.600). They turned away from the metres of Indian origin, which until that time had been used in (pre-Islamic) didactic-moralistic poetry (see 13.700). Perhaps they deliberately made a distinction between pre-Islamic and Muslim literature by propagating the use of another kind of metre in their didactic poetry.

The didactic and moralistic poems which

are discussed under the present head are called *Niti Sruti* (or *Surti*), *Niti Praja*, *Papali ki gĕdĕ Sésĕla*, and *Sastra Gĕnĕḍiḅ*.

Allegedly the author of the *Niti Sruti* was a *paḅĕran Karaḅ Gayam* who lived in the period of the *Pajaḅ suzerainty* in Central Java, in the last decades of the sixteenth century. Judging from his title *paḅĕran* he was an ecclesiastical gentleman of standing, and head of a local religious community of *Karaḅ Gayam* (situation uncertain, several places of the name being known, i.a. in the district of *Kĕbumĕn* and in *Panaraga*). Another tradition, ascribing the authorship to the early seventeenth century *paḅĕran Pĕkik* of *Surabaya*, may be founded on that author's reputation as a literary intermediary between the culture of the East Pasisir districts (*Grĕsik*, *Surabaya*) and the uncultured interior of Central Java. Like the *Paniti Sastra*, the *Niti Sruti* was very much studied at Court by erudite gentlemen who took a pride in being well versed in classical Javanese literature. In the course of time paraphrases and adaptations in a more modern idiom were made. The poem contains lessons, especially referring to good behaviour and statecraft. A prose paraphrase by *Ranga Warsita* was published in *Surakarta* in 1871.

The *Niti Praja* is even more than the *Niti Sruti* a didactic poem on good conduct of men in office. Its name reminds one of the *Niti Praya*, which is a Javanese-Balinese prose treatise on statecraft (see 13.210). According to nineteenth century Javanese Court tradition the *Niti Praja* was written in the period of *Sultan Agung* of *Mataram*, in the first half of the seventeenth century.

The *Papali* stands in the name of *ki gĕdĕ*

Sésĕla, a semi-legendary laird of a small domain, *Sésĕla* or *Sĕla*, in the district of *Grobogan*, in the *Sĕmaranḅ Residency*, who is venerated as an ancestor of the sixteenth century *Kings of Pajaḅ*. According to nineteenth century Javanese Court tradition he lived in the period of the *Dĕmak suzerainty* in Central Java, in the beginning of the sixteenth century. His authorship seems rather problematic. The *Papali* was published in *Surakarta* in 1904.

Even more problematic is the authorship of the *Sastra Gĕnĕḍiḅ*, a didactic and speculative poem which is held in particular esteem at the *Yogyakarta Court*. It is attributed to *Sultan Agung* of *Mataram* himself. In its present form it seems to be a product of the renaissance of Javanese letters of the conclusion of the eighteenth century.

Manuscripts containing one or more of the four above mentioned texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Niti Sruti*, *Surti*, *Niti Praja*, *Papali* and *Sastra Gĕnĕḍiḅ*.

17.110 *Niti Sruti*, with notes:

cod. 1811, 1872, 2040, 6374, 6420, NBS 81-III, IV, V (= 10.636, 10.637, 10.638 = BCB prtf 78).

17.120 *Niti Praja*, on statecraft:

cod. 1809, 1873, 5779 a, b.

17.130 *Papali ki gĕdĕ Sésĕla*, moralistic poem:

cod. 1810, 5776 a, 5782 a, NBS 81-I (= 10.634 = BCB prtf 78).

17.140 *Sastra Gĕnĕḍiḅ*, moralistic poem:

cod. 6413, 8624.

17.300 Didactic compendium on statecraft (still group F, 14.000). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the

flourishing period of the Pasisir culture, didactic-moralistic texts were often inserted into narrative poems. The authors followed the example of pre-Islamic predecessors. The Old Javanese Korawāsrama and Warga Sari (20.300 and 30.245), for instance, are full of lessons of all kinds. Islamic Pasisir literature produced several lengthy narrative poems with didactic insertions such as the Cēṇṭini, the Cabolaṅ, the Jatiswara and the Jaya Lēṅkara Wulaṅ (see 30.780 and 30.820).

Under the present head a compendium of moralistic lessons, called Yuda Nagara, is listed. Though it contains a tale with Koja Jajahan and a King, who is his master, as principal characters, by far the greater part of the book is taken up by lessons on statecraft, resembling the Niti Praja (17.120). Yuda Nagara may be a corruption of Sanskrit *udāharaṇa*: example. Poerbattjaraka discussed an old Koja Jajahan text in his “Kapustakan Djawi” (1952, p. 96).

Some relationship with positive Muslim didactic-moralistic texts (see 16.500), also belonging to the seventeenth or eighteenth century Pasisir literature, is likely.

In the General Index relevant manuscripts have been registered under the catchwords *Yuda Nagara* and *Koja Jajahan*.

17.310 Yuda Nagara, Koja Jajahan, didactic poem on statecraft:

cod. 1817, 1820.

17.400 Moralistic lessons, songs, *suluks* (still group F, 14.000). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries moralistic-didactic poems were written by many authors in Central Java. Some of these texts show a close relationship with mystic songs, *suluks* (see 14.900). They contain references

to mysticism and theology. The frame of a conversation between a master and his pupil, or a husband and his wife, is found both in the *suluks* and the moralistic-didactic poems.

Under the present head moralistic texts which are closely connected with mystic *suluks* have been collected. In some respects they remind one of the didactic poems on theology and law, which have been discussed under a previous head (16.000, the work of Ahmad Ripaṅji).

The lessons of Sèh Tékawardi were much studied in Central Java in the nineteenth century. The poem was published in Surakarta, together with the Wulaṅ Rèh of King Paku Buwana IV.

Just like the mystic *suluks*, the present moralistic-didactic poems are often found incorporated in large compendiums. Codexes containing relevant texts have been listed in the General Index under the catchwords *Tékawardi*, *Surya Laga*, *Nata Paṇḍita*, *Jabar Sidik*, etc.

17.410 Sèh Tékawardi, moralistic lessons in verse:

cod. 5774, 5782 c, 5792.

17.420 Surya Laga, Nata Paṇḍita, lessons in verse, given to his wife:

cod. 3360 (= 3995), CB 7.

17.430 Sèh Jabar Sidik, lessons in verse given to his wife Mutmaṇah:

cod. 8596.

17.440 Dèwi Maléka of Rum:

cod. 7562 (= 10.770).

17.450 Sèh Majēnun, Ni Liyēp Sajati:

cod. 7554.

17.600 Moralistic poetry of the pujaṅgas of Surakarta (still group

F, 14.000). The last decades of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century are the period of a classical renaissance of Javanese literature in Surakarta (see 00020, the fourth era). The Court scholars of the Yasadipura family became prominent authors, mainly in the field of history (26.800 and 27.000) and Belles-Lettres (30.900). They were called *pujangas*, with an Old Javanese word (originally *bu-janga*), referring to scholars of religious lore. In moralistic-didactic poetry the *pujanga* influence is also apparent.

Being primarily Court scholars, the *pujangas'* moralistic-didactic poems mostly refer to courtiers. They reflect the morality of the classes of Royal servants, the nobility and the Royal Family of Surakarta of the beginning of the nineteenth century. Beside common moralistic lessons with a slight tinge of Islamic ethics, they contain also passages referring to statecraft and tactful behaviour. Some poems seem to be adaptations of older treatises dating from the beginning of the eighteenth century, or even from the seventeenth century. The prototype of the Séwaka was written in the beginning of the Kartasura period, at the end of the seventeenth century (Poerbatjaraka, "Kapustakan Djawi", 1952, p. 107). According to Javanese nineteenth century tradition the original Sasana Prabu was written by carik Bajra in the Kartasura period.

The moralistic-didactic poetry written by Court poets for worldly gentlemen was an offshoot of the older didactic texts of positive Islamic inspiration, Taju Salatin etc., which belong to the Pasisir culture (see 16.500). Meanwhile didactic books of the Taju Salatin type continued to be read in religious circles

through the nineteenth century. A division between moralistic-didactic books written for men of religion on the one hand, and for worldly gentlemen, *priyayis*, on the other, was not a novelty of the Islamic period. It existed already in pre-Islamic literature (see 13.200).

In the nineteenth century, moralistic poems belonging to the Surakarta *pujanga* literature were much studied in Central Java. No doubt they were instrumental in spreading Surakarta Court manners and Court idiom all over the country. The Séwaka and the Wulaꦶ Rèh were published in Java as early as the middle of the nineteenth century. In Surakarta the Wulaꦶ Rèh, written by King Paku Buwana IV himself, was particularly admired. Other moralistic texts ascribed to the Royal author are Wulaꦶ Èstri, Wulaꦶ Sunu and Wulaꦶ Dalèm (see Poerbatjaraka, "Kapustakan "Djawi", 1952, p. 154).

As a rule moralistic poems of this kind are found incorporated in compendiums. Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *didactic*, *moralistic*, *Prabu Sasana*, *Sasana Prabu*, *Sasana* (or: *Sana*) *Sunu*, *Séwaka*, *Wulaꦶ Rèh* and *Yasadipura*.
17.610 Séwaka, on courtly behaviour, by Yasadipura I:

cod. 1828 (compendium), NBS 57.

17.620 Séwaka turned into prose by Puspa Wilaga:

cod. NBS 72 (compendium).

17.630 Séwaka, old Dutch translation, Surakarta 1816:

cod. DFT S 240/280-31.

17.640 Sasana Sunu, Sasana Putra, by Yasadipura II:

cod. 1806, 1866 (= 10.539), 3180, NBS 83 (compendium), NBS 88 (compendium), NBS 89 (compendium).

17.650 Moralistic treatise, fragment:
cod. 8366.

17.660 Wulaꦁ R  h and Wulaꦁ   stri, by King Paku Buwana IV of Surakarta:

cod. 1808, 2320, 5782 b, NBS 58, NBS 59 (compendium), NBS 113.

17.670 Wulaꦁ R  h and Wulaꦁ   stri, turned into prose by Puspa Wilaga:

cod. 5791, NBS 60.

17.680 Wulaꦁ Dal  m Paku Buwana IV, Paniti Baya, didactic moralistic poem:

cod. 6203 c, 7416.

17.690 Prabu Sasana, on statecraft:

cod. NBS 83-V (= 10.598 = BCB prtf 69).

17.800 Moralistic Court Poetry of Yogyakarta (still group F, 14.000). Yogyakarta Court literature had a flourishing period almost contemporaneous with Surakarta. But then, in consequence of political troubles (the British interregnum and the Dipa Nagara war), Yogyakarta literature did not develop as exuberantly as Surakarta *pujangga* letters did.

Court literature in Yogyakarta was partly written by members of the Paku Alaman princely family. Pan  ran Surya Nagara was an important author. The Yogyakarta literary idiom was in some respects different from that of Surakarta.

In the art of making coloured drawings, often in wayaꦁ style, as illustrations of manuscripts, Yogyakarta Court artists were superior to their Surakarta colleagues.

In Part Two, History, of the present Synopsis, some works written by Paku

Alaman authors on Yogyakarta history will be discussed (27.200 and 27.400). Under the present head some moralistic didactic poems in Yogyakarta style have been collected.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Yogyakarta* and *Surya Nagara*.

17.810 A  ta Brata, Yogyakarta, Paku Alaman, moralistic compendium:

cod. 6388.

17.820 Piwulaꦁ, Yogyakarta, moralistic lessons by Surya Nagara:

cod. AdKIT H 835.

17.830 Adi Darma Sastra, Yogyakarta, Paku Alaman, moralistic compendium:

cod. KITLV Or 189.

18.200 Moralistic texts from Raꦁga Warsita's school (still group F, 14.000). In Surakarta the early nineteenth century *pujangas* of the Yasadipura line had contacts with Dutch scholars who at the time were studying Javanese literature for their own ends. Dr Gericke was a delegate of the Netherlands Bible Society of Amsterdam. He made the first Javanese translation of the Bible. Winter and Wilkens were Government officials. They made a Javanese-Dutch dictionary. No doubt the presence of these Dutch scholars in Surakarta, maintaining during many years almost daily contacts with Javanese gentlemen of standing, noblemen and the Kings themselves, was not without influence on the development of Court literature.

With the *pujangas'* epigones who lived in the second half of the nineteenth century,

Dutch influence is the more apparent. At that time Javanese *priyayi* society was developing into a class of semi-westernized intellectuals. In the last decades of the century and during the first decades of the twentieth century this development was accelerated by the introduction of Dutch administration in the semi-independent principalities of Central Java. Dutch schools for *priyayi* children, afterwards open to children of all classes, were instrumental in spreading western ideas. Knowledge of the Malay idiom as used in Dutch Government administration was spread at the same time. This was, in Central Java, the preparation for the rise of Bahasa Indonesia, which in the second half of the twentieth century became a powerful rival of the native Javanese tongue.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Rāṅga Warsita was the outstanding representative of Surakarta Court literature. He was related to the Yasadipura family. Unlike his illustrious predecessors, who always wrote in verse, he wrote many books in prose, most of them on ancient history. In the other parts of the present Synopsis Rāṅga Warsita's work in the field of history (28.400), Belles-Lettres (31.340) and law (47.490) have been registered. Under the present head only texts of a moralistic character are mentioned, most of them in prose.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *Rāṅga Warsita*.

18.210 Darma Sunya, didactic-moralistic texts, prose version in Rāṅga Warsita style of an Old Javanese kakawin:

cod. 6419, 6479, 6606 (Nur Muhammad, compendium), CB 145 (1) C.

18.220 Didactic-moralistic prose treatise in Rāṅga Warsita style, on ascetic practice:

cod. 3998 (compendium).

18.230 Hidayat Jati, didactic-moralistic lessons in prose, Rāṅga Warsita style:

cod. 6518.

18.240 Wéda Pramana, pralambāṅ Darma Sunya, prose treatise in Rāṅga Warsita style:

cod. 6429.

18.250 Kala Tiḍa, moralistic poem by Rāṅga Warsita:

cod. 6612.

18.400 Didactic poems of Prince Maṅku Nagara IV (still group F, 14.000). In the nineteenth century some members of the Royal family of Surakarta distinguished themselves as authors. King Paku Buwana IV wrote didactic-moralistic poems which were much appreciated at the time (see 17.660). Maṅku Nagara IV was a Prince belonging to the Maṅkunagaran House, which had been given semi-independent dominions in the Surakarta district in 1757. Maṅku Nagara IV wrote poetry; most poems are either belletristic (see 31.360) or didactic-moralistic. Wéda Tama is a didactic speculative poem ascribed to him. There is, however, some doubt as to his exclusive authorship. He seems to have co-operated with Rāṅga Warsita and others. All poems by Maṅku Nagara IV were published in Surakarta. His collected works have been edited by the present author (1927—1934).

Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been listed in the General Index under the catchword *Maṅku Nagara*.

18.410 Wéda Tama, philosophical poem ascribed to Maṅku Nagara IV:

cod. 6486, CB 145 (1) B.

18.420 Didactic moralistic poems by Maṅku Nagara IV:

cod. 6615.

18.500 Late nineteenth century didactic-moralistic literature (still group F, 14.000). Didactic-moralistic poetry was popular in the nineteenth century. Several authors wrote poems of this genre, and most collections of manuscripts contain compendiums of didactic-moralistic texts.

Under the present head compendiums of nineteenth and twentieth century didactic-moralistic poems and miscellaneous notes on Islamic didactic literature have been collected. Several texts were published by local printers in Java. Javanese summaries of published texts can be found in the "Pra-télan kawonténan iṅ buku-buku iṅ Museum "Genootschap iṅ Batawi", by Purwa Suwigña and Wira Waṅsa (1921).

Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *didactic* and *moralistic*.

18.510 Compendiums of nineteenth century didactic-moralistic poems and treatises in prose:

cod. 1865, 3121, 5544 a (Darma Yasa), 6391, 6687, 8564, 8653 c, 10.849, NBS 133 (coll. van der Vlis), 10.563 (Bolawi

miscellany = BCB prtf 47), DFT S 240/280 - 105, 106 (Aṣṭa Brata, Rama).

18.520 Marga Wirya, by Jayadiniṅrat:

cod. 2329.

18.530 Sastra Witruna's life:

cod. 4708 (= 10.738 = BCB prtf 216).

18.540 Moralistic notes on the inhabitants of Java:

cod. NBS 87, IX and XXII (= 10.733 = BCB prtf 214).

18.550 Parama Wasita, by Suradipura, moralistic text-book:

cod. 6475.

18.560 Sasmita Wiwara, by Citra Soma VII, Regent of Japara:

cod. 1901.

18.570 Susilastri, moralistic poem on women, by Sukardi Prawira Winarsa:

cod. 6595, 8653 b.

18.580 Tapsir Alam, didactic moralistic poem by Wira Sumarta:

cod. 6554.

18.590 Wulaṅ Sémahan, didactic moralistic poem on marriage:

cod. NBS prtf 81-II (= 10.635 = BCB prtf 78).

18.600 Moralistic religious lessons in prose, Christian influence:

cod. 2037.

19.000 Javanese Christian literature.*

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the ministers of the Dutch Reformed Church which was established at Batavia were not encouraged to try to convert subjects of the Javanese Kings to Christianity. For political reasons it was felt not advisable to proselytize among Javanese people. Moreover,

among Dutch scholars, acquaintance with the Javanese literary idiom still was insufficient to allow them to contact Javanese

* Christian literature belongs to Era **D** of Javanese cultural history, the period of the renaissance of classical letters (see 00020). The idiom is modern Javanese (see 00030, group 5).

people in the field of religion with any chance of success. In the eighteenth century Dutch officials possessed enough practical knowledge of the Javanese language to serve them in political and legal affairs and business, but that was all.

In consequence of the renewed interest in religion apparent in The Netherlands in the first decades of the nineteenth century, a Netherlands Bible Society (Nederlands Bijbel Genootschap) was founded at Amsterdam. Beside other matters it took to heart the publication of a Javanese translation of the Bible. The Society was fortunate in finding in Dr Gericke a competent scholar who was willing to live in Surakarta in Central Java in order to study the literary idiom and so to prepare himself for his task of making a translation of the Bible. In his twenty years' residence in Java Dr Gericke succeeded in laying the foundation of Javanese linguistic studies. His Javanese translation of the Bible was printed in The Netherlands in 1848 (the New Testament) and in 1854 (the Old Testament). Uhlenbeck's "The Languages of Java and Malaya" (1964) contains information on Gericke's activities.

Under the present head some manuscripts pertaining to Javanese translations of books of the Bible have been collected. Gericke and his successors were prolific writers. Most of their works were published, and the manuscripts were destroyed. So the number of codexes containing Javanese Bible translations and paraphrases is small.

19.010 Gospel of St. John, translation in Javanese verse:

cod. 5770.

19.020 Old Testament tales, prose paraphrases:

cod. NBS 100.

19.030 Life of Christ, from the Gospels, in prose (ꦗꦺꦴꦏꦺ):

cod. 3174.

19.100 Christian texts, translated from Dutch originals. In the middle of the nineteenth century a community of Javanese converts was established in a rural district of East Java, Maja Wara. In the course of time Christianity spread in many districts of Java, but numerically the Javanese Christians never were more than a very small minority.

Dutch missionaries, sent by various missionary societies in The Netherlands, belonging to the "Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk", the "Gereformeerde Kerken", both presbyterian, and the "Doopsgezinde Broederschap" (Mennonites), were leaders of the Christian communities. They exerted themselves to provide suitable Christian reading matter for their congregations. At first, for obvious reasons, Dutch texts were translated into Javanese. The resulting Javanese books were not idiomatic as to style and vocabulary, but still for many years they served the missionaries' ends.

Under the present head some manuscripts containing Javanese translations of Dutch prayers and hymns have been collected. Just like the translations of the Bible mentioned under the preceding head, translations of Christian religious books in manuscripts are scarce, because in most cases the originals were destroyed after they had been published.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts

have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *Christian*.

19.110 Dutch prayers translated into Javanese:

cod. 5541, NBS 70 (compendium).

19.120 Dutch hymns, translated in Javanese verse by C. F. Winter:

cod. 5795.

19.200 Christian tracts, *Kristěn Jawa*. In the second half of the nineteenth century some Javanese Christian authors, prompted by Dutch missionaries, wrote original treatises or adaptations of Dutch tracts.

In some cases Christianity spread in Central Java, independent of the Dutch missions. Some Javanese converts established themselves as Christian preachers, in many respects following the example of Muslim *kyahis*, masters in Islamic mysticism and religious lore, who of old occupied an important place in the country. In the nineteenth century independent Javanese

preachers and their congregations were called *Kristěn Jawa*. At first Javanese treatises current in *Kristěn Jawa* circles were not given the attention they deserved by Dutch missionaries. *Rasa Sějati*, by Paulus Tosari, written about 1872, was not published by the missionary press before the third decade of the twentieth century. In the course of time independent *Kristěn Jawa* preachers in Central Java conformed and joined the established presbyterian Javanese churches.

19.210 Sermon on God's paternal love:

cod. 10.819.

19.220 Christian didactic-moralistic tracts in verse:

cod. 5763.

19.230 *Paṅgugah*, by Asa Kiman, a *Kristěn Jawa* preacher, in verse:

cod. 5786.

19.240 *Rasa Sějati*, by Paulus Tosari, in verse:

cod. 10.818.

SYNOPSIS, PART TWO
HISTORY AND MYTHOLOGY

20.000 Old Javanese Charters.*

The oldest Javanese texts which have come down to us are Royal charters engraved on stone slabs or copper-plates, issued by Javanese Kings ruling in the ninth century in Central Java. Even in that early period the district was already called Mataram. For clearness' sake the ancient ninth, tenth and eleventh century rulers are called Old Mataram Kings, in order to distinguish them from the Muslim Mataram dynasts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the founders of the modern Central Javanese line of Kings. There is no evidence of any connection between the Old Mataram and the modern Mataram dynasty. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Muslim Mataram rulers were unaware of the existence of a preceding line of Kings in the same district. That fact only became apparent in the second half of the nineteenth century as a consequence of the Old Javanese charters being finally deciphered by Dutch scholars. Some manuscripts containing earlier, unsatisfactory attempts to decipher the Old Javanese script are listed under the head Study of old charters (46.600).

In the present survey of historical Javanese literature the old charter of Kalasan, of 778 A.D., cannot be passed by. Though

written in Sanskrit verse, it contains several Javanese words and names (see the present author's "Java in the XIVth century", vol. IV, p. 405). The charter in verse of 856 A.D. has been mentioned in 00050.

Several Old Javanese charters have long texts, up to a hundred lines or more. Mostly they are deeds of donation referring to estates given by Kings to men of merit. A considerable part of the texts is taken by lists of witnesses to the deed, with enumerations of the fees given them for their trouble. Another part contains descriptions of the religious ceremony pertaining to the founding of a new estate. The texts are in prose (see 00020). In their preambles Old Javanese charters have dates, names of districts and rulers, and sometimes genealogies of Kings. For that reason they are of paramount interest to historians, being the oldest Javanese historical documents known to us. As such they are registered in Part Two of the present Synopsis.

Probably in antiquity Royal charters engraved either on stone slabs or on copper-

* The following paragraphs (20.000—20.440) refer to historical and mythological texts belonging to Era **A** of Javanese cultural history, the pre-Islamic period (see 00020). The literary idiom is Old Javanese (see 00030, group 1).

plates were religiously preserved as heirlooms, and even worshipped as fetishes in the families of the original grantees. After the community festival and the religious ceremonies of the charters' inauguration the stones or copper-plates were considered as palladiums of social and cosmic order, and dispensers of fortune to worshippers, for all times to come (cf. 00130). The Royal Family, the numerous Court officers and the dignitaries of country communities whose names were mentioned in the texts were so to speak immortalized and canonized. They shared in the religious worship and offerings due to the charter. Perhaps the highly prized immortalization was a factor in increasing the number of persons mentioned in the charter texts by name and surname, until it reached up to fifty or more officials and witnesses. Anyway it seems clear that the original purpose of the charters' authors and makers was not to supply information on history. In fact, considering their relation with ancient worship, and law, most Old Javanese charters would deserve a place in the First Part of the present Synopsis, where religious texts are discussed, or in Part Four. That they are mentioned under the present head is because of their importance to present-day students of ancient Javanese history.

The largest and most important collection of Old Javanese charters written on copper-plates or slabs of stone is in the Museum Pusat (formerly KBG, Royal Batavian Society) at Djakarta. Many of them were collected by Dutch scholars serving on the staff of the Archeological Service. The most important editions (though the older ones are without translations) are: Cohen Stuart,

"Kawi Oorkonden" (Leiden, 1875), Brandes-Krom, "Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden" (Verh. KBG, vol. 60, 1913), Poerbatjaraka, "Inscripties van Nederlandsch-Indië" (Batavia 1940) and de Casparis, "Prasasti Indonesia" I, 1950, II, 1956. All known Old Javanese charters are photographed, and of many of them paper rubbings are extant. Both photographs and rubbings are preserved in the archives of the Dinas Purbakala (Archeological Service) at Djakarta and of the Kern Institute of the University of Leiden.

Under the present head no photographs nor rubbings belonging or referring to the Dinas Purbakala and the Kern Institute collections are registered. Those collections have their own catalogues (published only in part). The following list refers mainly to original Old Javanese charters (copper-plates and one stone slab) preserved in public collections in The Netherlands.

20.010 Old Javanese charter, original copper-plate, of 878 A.D.:

cod. 4998 (edition: Poerbatjaraka).

20.020 Old Javanese charters, rubbings and photographs:

cod. 3150 (Cohen Stuart, Kawi Oorkonden no. 23), 5742 (Ethnographical Department, British Museum).

20.030 Stone slab with Old Javanese inscription, 1449 A.D., Salatiga:

cod. REM 1403-1620.

20.040 Old Javanese charters of King Balitung, original copper-plates, 907 A.D.:

cod. AdKIT 856/1 and 2 (VanNaerssen).

20.050 Old Javanese charter, 12 original copper-plates in a brass box, 860 A.D.:

cod. REM 401-22.

20.060 Old Javanese copper-plate, "Tārā" incantation:

cod. REM Br 79-1.

20.070 Old Javanese charters, original copper-plates, incomplete texts, with dates:

cod. REM 1928-1 (883 A.D.), REM 2092-93 (939 A.D.), REM 1403-2299 (919 A.D.?), REM 1403-3340 (910

A.D.?), REM 360-5392 (983 or 883 A.D.).

20.080 Old Javanese charters, original copper-plates, incomplete texts, without dates:

cod. REM 1403-2120, REM 1403-2433, REM 1403-3338, REM 1403-3339, REM 2418-1, 2, REM 2960-1.

20.100 Old Javanese prose versions of Indian epics and puranas.

In Javanese civilization mythology and history are closely connected. Mythic and epic tales are accounts of events which occurred in the beginning of history. These events were generally believed to have been decisive in the development of cosmic and social order. Myths on the origin of cosmic and social order belong to the oldest elements of literature. Javanese literature is rich in myths, both in prose and in verse and in the form of wayang-theatre plays.

In the oldest texts which have come down to us, however, indigenous Javanese myths are either not in evidence, or they occupy a rather unimportant place. The oldest Javanese prose texts are concerned with Indian culture. This is a consequence of the fact that the art of writing was introduced in Java by scholars from India who were only interested in Indian literature. The Javanese rulers and gentlemen whose teachers and spiritual guides they were, were in the first place instructed in Indian mythology. The idea of writing down original Javanese tales about gods and ancestors developed in a later period, when the art of writing had spread among indigenous scholars. At that time the Indian epic and puranic style of

composing tales had deeply influenced the authors of texts on indigenous Javanese topics.

In the beginning of Old Javanese literature of Indian inspiration, Indian epic and puranic tales were favoured. Perhaps in the same period, excerpts from MānawaDharma śāstra and some religious texts, both Shīwaitic and Buddhist, were rendered into Javanese prose. In Part One (Religion, 10.000) and Part Four (Law, 47.000) these texts have been mentioned. It is impossible to ascertain the exact date when each item was put in writing. The reign of King Enlānga, who ruled in the 11th century in Kahuripan, a district in the Brantas delta south of the modern town of Surabaya, seems to have been important in respect of the adaptation of Mahābhārata tales and purāṇas in Old Javanese prose.

The development of Old Javanese epic poetry, beginning with the Rāmāyaṇa kakawin, will be discussed in Part Three, Belles-Lettres, of the present Synopsis (30.000). The Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa seems to be older than the Old Javanese prose *parwas* by two centuries or even more.

Mahābhārata tales have had an immense

influence on Javanese literature of all periods of history. In the course of time Mahābhārata heroes were adopted as national heroes and ancestors of the Central Javanese line of Kings. A majority of the plays of the national Javanese theatre, the wayaṅ purwa, has Mahābhārata heroes for personages. True, probably several wayaṅ plays actually are indigenous myths, but then the fact that Mahābhārata heroes (Arjuna, Bhīma, Śikhaṇḍin = Srikaṇḍi) took the places of the original principal characters (whose Javanese names we can only guess) is evidence of the paramount influence of Indian epic tales. In fact, Indian epic and puranic tales have almost entirely filled the place of mythology in Javanese literature. The name of the most popular type of national theatre, the wayaṅ *purwa*, probably contains the word *parwa*, the Sanskrit name of the eighteen Mahābhārata books, corrupted in contamination with *purwa*, pristine, ancient.

Under the present head Old Javanese prose versions of Mahābhārata books are registered. Not all of the eighteen Mahābhārata books have been rendered into Javanese prose, and the renderings are of unequal quality. The Adiparwa is by far the best known. All Old Javanese prose versions have one characteristic in common: they contain fragments of original Sanskrit *ślokas*, with Javanese paraphrases, which are used as rubrics. By means of these fragmentary Sanskrit quotations it is possible to collate the Old Javanese texts with the originals. It is clear that the Old Javanese books contain very much abridged versions of the Indian *parwas*.

The question whether the *parwa* versions

in Javanese prose had a definite sacral function in Old Javanese life is difficult to answer. Probably on festive occasions the Old Javanese version of the Rāma tale in verse, with Indian metres, Rāmāyaṇa kakawin (see 30.000), was chanted in public by trained singers. The Old Javanese prose texts may have been recited rhythmically on similar occasions by professional story-tellers. If this was the case, probably even in that early period the pronunciation of Sanskrit words and names, and the stress on some syllables, must have resembled modern Javanese practice, because if not, the rhythm of the sentence would have been disturbed (see 00040).

The tale of the war of the Pāṇḍawas and Korawas was made into an Old Javanese epic poem, called Bhārata Yuddha, which afterwards was rendered into modern Javanese verse. These poetic versions of the ancient Indian tale are listed in Part Three (Belles-Lettres) of the present Synopsis (30.010 and 30.900).

Like the Mahābhārata *parwas*, the last book of Wālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa, Uttara Kāṇḍa, was also rendered into Old Javanese prose. This work supplied the subject-matter of well-known epic poems: Hari Śraya and Arjuna Wijaya (30.145 and 30.125).

Wiwuḍa (Wibudha) Parwa is the name of a short text of the same kind, on Paraśu Rāma, apparently containing similar tales as found in the third (Wana Parwa, chpt. 116) and in the twelfth (Śānti Parwa, chpt. 49) book of the Mahābhārata.

Most of the *parwa* versions in Old Javanese prose have been edited by Juynboll and other Dutch scholars (see Uhlenbeck's "The

“Languages of Java and Madura”). Manuscripts containing references to the *parwas* are registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Mahābhārata* and *parwa*.

20.110 Ādiparwa, Old Javanese prose version of the first Mahābhārata book:

cod. 3127, 4006 a, b, c, d, 5026, 5046, 5397, 6661, AdKIT 1868/104.

20.120 Wirāṭa Parwa, Old Javanese prose version of the fourth Mahābhārata book:

cod. 3133, 4681, 4682, 4683, 5027, 5103, 10.630 (= BCB prtf 75, KBG lontar 855), 10.631 (= BCB prtf 75, KBG lontar 959b).

20.130 Udyoga Parwa, Old Javanese prose version of the fifth Mahābhārata book:

cod. 3136, 3736, 4603, 4604, 4605, 5020 (= 10.439 = BCB prtf 5), 5028, KITLV Or 44.

20.140 Bhīṣma Parwa, Old Javanese prose version of the sixth Mahābhārata book:

cod. 3750, 4139, 4140, 5029.

20.150 Strī Parwa, called Pralapita Parwa, Old Javanese prose version of the eleventh Mahābhārata book:

cod. 9744 (Krt 1357a).

20.160 Āśramawāsa Parwa, Mosala Parwa, Prasthānika Parwa, Swargārohana Parwa, Old Javanese prose versions of the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth Mahābhārata books:

cod. 3134, 3889, 3908, 3909, 4078, 4340, 4532, 5030, 5033, 5034, (= BCB prtf 60), 6443, CB 124.

20.170 Uttara Kāṇḍa, Old Javanese prose version of the seventh Rāmāyaṇa book:

cod. 4627, 4628, 4629, 4630, 5031 (= 10.454 = BCB prtf 7, extensive version), 9745 (Krt 1357b, Kālakéya-Sutasoma).

20.180 Tatwa Utara Kāṇḍa, Javanese-Bali-

nese prose epitome of Old Javanese Uttara Kāṇḍa:

cod. 4556, 4557 (= BCB prtf 21), 4558, 4559.

20.190 Wiwuḍa (Wibudha) Parwa, Old Javanese epic tale, in prose:

cod. 9743 (Krt 1357).

20.200 Puranic texts, Old Javanese versions. Next to Mahābhārata *parwas*, puranic texts, rendered into prose, were important sources of knowledge for Javanese scholars studying Indian mythology and epic history. Unfortunately, due to the enormous mass of Indian puranic literature, the original Sanskrit texts can not be traced as easily as in the case of the Mahābhārata *parwas*.

The principal texts of Old Javanese puranic literature in prose have been edited by Gonda. Part of the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa was rendered into verse. This poetic version is listed with the *kakawins* in Part Three, Belles-Lettres, of the present Synopsis (30.110).

20.210 Angastya Parwa, Old Javanese prose:

cod. 3711, 4052, 4053, 4054, 5061, 10.850.

20.220 Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa, Old Javanese prose:

cod. 3130, 3138, 4155, 4156, 4157, 4158, 5013, 5032, 5099.

20.300 Compendiums of epic tales. Both Mahābhārata *parwas* and puranic texts are encyclopedic: they contain a variety of tales concerning many subjects. In Javanese literature encyclopedic books and compendiums of tales remained favourites from the Old Javanese period up to the

nineteenth century. Books of this kind have been registered in Part Four of the present Synopsis, under the head Encyclopedias (46.500), and in the General Index, under the catchword *encyclopedia*, references to other texts can be found.

The compendiums of epic tales in Old Javanese-Balinese prose which are registered under the present head have the encyclopedic character in common with the *Cantaka Parwa* and the *Caṇḍa Kiraṇa* (46.510 and 46.520). The present compendiums *Korawāśrama* and *Ādi Purāṇa*, however, have one feature in common, by which they are differentiated from the real encyclopedias: they have frame-stories which link the various tales and lessons together. By the fact of their composition with frame-stories the present Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese compendiums foreshadow the great encyclopedic historical poems of the *Pasisir* period, the *Kaṇḍas*, which also are discussed in the present Part Two of the Synopsis (22.900). The *Jatiswara*, the *Cēṇṭini* and the *Cabolaṅ*, are also encyclopedic poems with frame-stories; they are discussed in Part Three, *Belles-Lettres* (30.780), because there is a difference between the latter three books and the *Kaṇḍas* and compendiums, namely in the character of their frame-stories. In the *Korawāśrama* and the *Kaṇḍas* the frame-stories are epic or mythical. In the *Jatiswara*, the *Cēṇṭini*

and the *Cabolaṅ*, they are partly romanticized history, partly tales of the adventures of vagrant students.

The frame-story of the *Ādi Purāṇa* has a tinge of religious speculation, the quest for the holy water. The frame-story of the *Korawāśrama* is most remarkable. It refers to ancient Javanese belief in dualism in cosmic and social Order, in this case represented by the warring *Pāṇḍawas* and *Korawas*. Neither party can completely vanquish the other, because in that case order in the universe would be destroyed. The numerous tales which turn on the jealousy of brothers (see the General Index under the catchword *brothers*) are in a way comparable with the *Korawāśrama*.

The *Korawāśrama* has been edited and translated by Swellengrebel. Part of it was made into an epic poem in *tēṇahan* metre. This poem is listed in Part Three, *Belles-Lettres* (30.322).

20.310 *Korawāśrama*, Old Javanese prose compendium of epic tales and speculation on cosmic dualism:

cod. 4255 (= BCB prtf 5), 4256, 4257, 5080.

20.320 *Ādi Purāṇa*, Old Javanese (Bali made) prose compendium of epic tales, and quest for holy water:

cod. 5019, 9467 (Krt 802).

20.330 Epic tales, prose:

cod. CB 128 (fragmentary).

20.400 Old Javanese historical prose texts.

In the pre-Islamic period Javanese authors showed small inclination to write books on political and dynastic history. On

this point, too, they proved disciples and imitators of Indian masters. Pre-Islamic Indian literature is conspicuous for its ab-

sence of trustworthy information on political history.

By studying Old Javanese charters and by other means, Dutch scholars have drawn a provisional outline of Old Javanese political history. The "Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis" by professor Krom (1926 and 1931) is still the fundamental book in this field. It appears that in the pre-Islamic period kingdoms existed in Central Java (Mataram) and afterwards in East Java. The crucial date was about 1000 A.D. The ancient Central Javanese Kings built the famous temples of Barabudur and Prambanan, and many Royal charters issued in these centuries have come down to us. The number of literary works which are ascribed to this far-off period is very small, though, and the evidence to show that they are of ancient Mataram origin is not very strong.

In East Java, after 1000 A.D. approximately, the cultural centre was in the basin of the Brantas, the great river which empties itself into Strait Madura near Surabaya. The first centre of the Brantas basin culture seems to have been near the delta, in Kahuripan (King Erlangga). That is the period when the Mahābhārata *parwas* were rendered into Old Javanese prose (see 20.100). In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a kingdom on the middle and upper course of the river Brantas became the centre of culture. It is called Kaḍiri. In the Kaḍiri period Old Javanese Court literature, especially epic kakawin literature, was flourishing.

It was not before the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, during the reign of the Siṅasari-Majapahit Kings, that some books concerning political and dynastic history

were written. The central districts of the Siṅasari-Majapahit realm were situated on the slopes of the Arjuna-Wlirang-Pēnaṅgunan massif. In this period China was ruled by the Mogul Emperor Kublay Khan, and he sent an expedition to East Java, probably in the first place in search of booty. In the course of a few years two Royal residences were sacked, and the Chinese penetrated into the inland districts of East Java. It seems probable that the Chinese invasion and subsequent penetration were important factors in the further development of Javanese economy and culture. In the Majapahit period, after the foreign invasion, the remembrance of the frightful experience gave the impulse to write a historical account. In a long preamble of a charter issued by the first King residing in Majapahit (the Royal residence in use after Siṅasari), he gave an account of the events of the Chinese war. This text (discussed by Brandes in his Pararaton edition) is to be considered as one of the earliest specimens of Old Javanese historiography.

It seems that the so-called Calcutta charter, which contains an account of the exploits of the eleventh century King Ērlangga of Kahuripan (East Java), is a comparable case. This text was also written by a man who looked back over a period of disorder and wars.

In the Majapahit period, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, three remarkable books on history, seen from different points of view, were written in East Java: the Nāgara Kērtāgama, the Pararaton and the Tantu Paṅgēlaran. The first, originally called Déśa Warṇana, Description of the Country, is a panegyric poem in honour of

King Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit, written by a contemporary called by his penname Prapañca, a member of the Buddhist Court clergy. It contains i.a. a Court chronicle of events occurring at the Majapahit Court from 1353—1364 A.D., and a list of previous Kings and their funeral monuments (*caṇḍis*), with dates. This list of previous reigns has been used by Dutch historians as a source of information on the history of the Siṅhasari-Majapahit dynasty. The only copy of this remarkable book which has come down to us is incorporated in cod. 5023, registered in Part Three, Belles-Lettres, of the present Synopsis (see 30.101). The Nāgara Kērtāgama was translated into Dutch by professor Kern. Krom, Poerbataraka and others provided emendations and annotations. The present author's "Java 'in the Fourteenth Century'" (1960—1964) is based on information gained by a study and a new translation of the Nāgara Kērtāgama and some contemporaneous texts.

The second book to be mentioned under the present head, the Pararaton, the Book of Kings (in Old Javanese prose), is the only one which really deserves the name of a book of history. Beginning with the mythical origin of the Siṅhasari-Majapahit dynasty, it gives an account of the Chinese war, the foundation and the flourishing period of Majapahit during the reign of King Hayam Wuruk and his grand-vizir Gajah Mada, and (but briefly) of the subsequent reigns, until 1389 A.D. Many events are carefully dated by means of chronograms. Probably the Pararaton text as it has come down to us is the work of several authors. The initial narrative chapters seem to represent part of the repertoire of professional story-tellers.

They suggest some relationship with the historical romances and ballads, kiduṅs and *pamañcaṇahs* (20.500 ff.), which occupy an important place in Javanese-Balinese literature. As a romance of a vagrant student, the first part of the Pararaton is comparable with the Tantu Paṅgĕlaran, the Warga Sari (see 30.245), and even with romantic tales belonging to the Islamic period of Javanese literature: Jatiswara, Cabolaṅ, and Cēṇṭini (see 30.560 and 30.780). Professor Bosch has drawn attention to the mythical background of the tales in the initial chapters ("De mythische achtergrond van de Kēn 'Angrok legende'", Meded. KNAW, letterk. NR, vol. 27-8, 1964). The list of chronograms referring to memorable events in the later parts of the Pararaton has counterparts in many other Javanese books, both ancient (the Nāgara Kērtāgama, see above) and modern (Babad Saṅkala, 25.400). On the whole, and especially by its combination of story-telling and registering memorable events, the Pararaton is to be considered a prototype of the Babads of the Islamic period of Javanese cultural history (22.900).

The Pararaton has been edited, translated into Dutch and annotated by Brandes (1896 and 1920). It is the principal source of information on the history of the Siṅhasari-Majapahit dynasty, and the only one on the end of that period. Professor Berg, in his books "Herkomst, Vorm en Functie 'der Middel-Javaanse Rijksdelingstheorie'" (1954) and "Het Rijk van de Vijfvoudige 'Buddha'" (1962), and in a number of papers has thrown doubt on the reliability of the historical information provided by the Nāgara Kērtāgama and the Pararaton, and by other texts as well. Professor Berg pro-

pounds the theory that the Javanese authors were altogether biased in favour of their patrons: they were trying by all means, even by apert falsification of facts, to get some preconceived ideas on historical order accepted by the public, in order to put their Royal masters in a favourable light. Berg's argument is difficult to prove, and on the whole it seems to go too far. It is true, of course, that Javanese writers on history are never absolutely impartial. But then, impartiality and freedom from bias are hardly to be expected in any historical work.

Unlike the *Nāgara Kērtāgama*, the *Pararaton* was a well-known book in its time. In Bali it was rendered into verse. The poetic *Pararaton* version has also been registered under the present head; it is comparable with the Javanese-Balinese *kidungs*, a kind of ballads. It only contains the initial chapters referring to the founder of the *Siṅasari* dynasty, called *Arok* or *Aṅrok*.

The third book belonging to the group of Old Javanese historical texts, the *Tantu Paṅgĕlaran*, contains legendary tales with reference to sacred spots, holy mountains and ancient religious domains. The initial chapters are mythical. The tales concerning the holy men who founded religious communities all over East Java might be considered as prototypes of similar tales told about the Muslim saints, the *walis*, who, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, converted Java to Islam. A direct connection is difficult to establish, however.

The *Tantu Paṅgĕlaran* is in Old Javanese prose. Probably, like the *Pararaton*, it was written in the fifteenth century or even later, in the last part of the *Majapahit* period. This date is suggested by the idiom of the

texts, which is closely related to modern Javanese.

On account of its associations with ancient mythology, partly Indian, partly of indigenous origin, clad in Indian garb, the *Tantu Paṅgĕlaran* was well-known in its time, and afterwards in Bali. Probably it is the oldest Javanese text containing extensive tales belonging to indigenous mythology (*Kaṇḍyan* and his sons). In fact these tales must date from time immemorial, belonging to the ancient religious tradition of the race, orally transmitted through many generations. Apparently not before the fifteenth century some Javanese literati were sufficiently interested in native religious tradition to take the tales down in writing.

It is characteristic of stratified Javanese society that the *Tantu Paṅgĕlaran* was written by men of religion outside the Court sphere where the *Nāgara Kērtāgama* author lived; the latter was a Buddhist ecclesiastic of standing. Probably the *Tantu* belonged to the sphere of common *Śiwaite* hermits and men of religion, one of the four groups into which, in the fourteenth century, the Javanese clergy was divided.

The *Tantu Paṅgĕlaran* has been edited, translated into Dutch and annotated by the present author (1924).

The *Pratasti Buwana* is a short text, not very well preserved. It contains interesting speculations on the four *yugas*, the periods of world history.

20.410 *Pararaton*, Book of Kings, Old Javanese prose:

cod. 4401, 4402, 4403, 4404, 4405.

20.420 *Pararaton*, Book of Kings, Javanese-Balinese verse, *macapat*:

cod. 3870 (= 10.458), 9606 (*Krt* 1062).

20.430 Tantu Paṅgĕlaran, mythical and legendary history of sanctuaries in Old Javanese prose:

cod. 2212 (= 6434), 3692 (= 4464), 3931, 4465.

20.440 Pratasti Buwana, Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese legendary history of ancient Java, the four eras, in prose:

cod. 5056-III, 9187 (Krt 180c).

20.500 Javanese-Balinese historical and mythological texts.*

In Java, Majapahit was the last Royal residence of importance where old Indian religious and social tradition was preserved. Towards the end of the fifteenth century mercantile Muhammadan kingdoms on the North Coast (Giri-Grĕsik, Dĕmak, Cĕrbon, Bantĕn) eclipsed the ancient inland capital and introduced Islamic elements into Javanese life. It was the beginning of the Muslim Pasisir (Coast) period of Javanese civilization (see 00020).

Economic, political and religious influences of the Javanese mercantile Pasisir kingdoms spread along the coasts of the other islands which are situated around the Java sea: Sumatra (Palĕmbang), Borneo (Tañjun Pura), Celebes (Makasar) and Lombok. In Bali somehow Islam did not gain a foothold. In the course of time Balinese cultural life, religion, art and literature became isolated. Based on some elements of ancient indigenous Balinese culture and on Old Javanese religion, which had been introduced in the Siṅasari-Majapahit era, a specific Javanese-Balinese literature has developed since the sixteenth century. Politically separated from the new centres of culture in Central Java, Dĕmak and Mataram, Balinese scholars always maintained a spiritual bond with ancient East Javanese Majapahit, which was held in veneration as the origin of their culture.

In Bali a considerable number of Old Javanese texts was preserved, and moreover literature was enriched with new works written in the Majapahit tradition. After the frightful experience of the religious and political changes in Java, Balinese scholars seem to have been especially interested in mythology, ancient history and genealogy, both Javanese and Balinese. They were always glad to find proofs of the close connection between the two countries.

The books which are registered under the present head, Usana Bali, Usana Jawa, and the Pamañcaṇahs, contain mythical, legendary and historical tales of South Bali of the same kind as some East Javanese Tantu Paṅgĕlaran and Pararaton tales. Interrelationship is most probable. Ancient indigenous Balinese cosmogonic myths may have been interwoven in some tales.

Texts on Javanese-Balinese religious speculation referring to cosmogony and genesis have been registered in Part One, Religion (11.200).

Unfortunately it is difficult to ascertain the dates of Javanese-Balinese texts. After

* The texts which are discussed in the following paragraphs (20.500—21.430) belong to Era **B** of Javanese cultural history, the Javanese-Balinese period (see 00020). The literary idiom is called Javanese-Balinese (see 00030, group 2).

the separation from the Javanese kingdom, Bali was governed by local rulers, of whom the Kings of Gèlgèl and the Kings of Klunḡkur, were successively the suzerains. The Gèlgèl era, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, seems to have been a flourishing period of Javanese-Balinese literature. The historical texts have been studied and edited in part by professor Berg ("De "Middel-Javaansche Historische traditie", 1927, "Kidunḡ Sundayana", 1928, "Kidunḡ "Sunda", BKI vol. 83, 1927, "Kidunḡ Pa-"mañcaḡah", 1929 "Raḡga Lawé", 1930, "Harṣa Wijaya", 1931, "Babad Bla Batuh", 1932). In some respects the Javanese-Balinese historical texts are comparable with the contemporaneous (or younger) Javanese Babad texts, though the contents are different. The Babad texts have been registered under various heads (22.200 ff.) in the present Part Two of the Synopsis. At the same time, in the reigns of the Gèlgèl Kings, the Old Javanese literary tradition was continued and epic poems in the old kakawin style were written (see 30.190).

20.510 Usana Jawa, prose, history of Bali, conquered by Majapahit:

cod. 3858.

20.520 Usana Bali, prose, mythical and legendary history of Bali:

cod. 3583, 3861, 4623, 8479, RtMLV 11717.

20.530 Mayantaka, Usana Bali, kakawin, mythical and legendary history of Bali:

cod. 3646 (= 4624), 9082 (Krt 15 = CB 45), CB 75.

20.540 Pamañcaḡah Bali (Gèlgèl), prose, old history of Bali:

cod. 3129 (fragment), 4361, 4363, 4364, 5054 (= 10.458b = BCB prtf 9).

20.550 Pamañcaḡah Bali kidunḡ, history in macapat verse:

cod. 3598 (= 4366), 3857.

20.560 Rāja Purāṇa, ancient history in prose:

cod. 9480 (Krt 827), 9581 (Krt 1028), 9833 (Krt 1531).

20.570 Prasasti, ancient history in prose:

cod. 9349 (Krt 534 = CB 92).

20.580 Babad Gumi, mythology and ancient history in prose:

cod. CB 89.

20.590 Babad Gumi, chronograms referring to ancient Balinese history:

cod. 9472 (Krt 808 = 10.548 = CB 51), CB 50 (= 10.547 = BCB prtf 42).

20.600 Pamañcaḡah Manik Aṅkèran, mythic tale:

cod. 3890.

20.610 Paryagēm, legendary history in prose:

cod. 9356 (Krt 552).

20.620 Babad Jawa Dwipa, mythic and legendary history of Java, in prose:

cod. 9493 (Krt 860 = CB 79).

20.630 Kēbo Iwa, Kēbo Yuwa, prose tale dealing with ancient history:

cod. 9632 (Krt 1117).

20.640 Prakērti Sasana, prose notes on ancient history:

cod. 9706 (Krt 1260).

20.650 Kaṇḡa Déwa, mythic tales in verse, Javanese Islamic influence:

cod. 9155 (Krt 120).

20.660 Mythic tales, cosmogony:

cod. 3896 (= 10.452 = BCB prtf 7, Tatwa Sawaḡ-suwuḡ), 3981, 5051 (= 10.453 = BCB prtf 7, Tatwa Sawaḡ-suwuḡ), 9168 (Krt 151, Mēḡarḡ Kamulan = CB 100), 9748 (Krt 1361, Mēḡarḡ

Alas), 10.280 (Krt 2368, Tatwa Sawaṅ-suwuṅ).

20.670 Batur Kalawasan, mythic tale, cosmogony:

cod. 9079 (Krt 8), CB 56, BCB prtf 41.

20.680 Tutar Dalēm Gaḍiṅ, cosmogony and legendary history:

cod. 9366 (Krt 581).

20.690 Kaṇḍa Catur Bumi, cosmogony and legendary history:

cod. 9092 (Krt 30), 9190 (Krt 186), AdKIT 820/1.

20.700 Javanese-Balinese ballads. Majapahit history was fascinating for people whose ancestors had been subjects of the Divine Kings. In Bali the Pararaton, the popular book of history, was in part rendered into verse. Selected episodes were made into historical-romantic poems, comparable with ballads. Some ballad poets were rather unscrupulous as to historic truth, they were striving after effect. For that reason historical-romantic *kiduṅs* have small value for historians.

Probably historical romances and ballads, and some Muslim religious didactic poems (see 14.600 ff.) are among the first texts written in native Javanese metres, called *tēmbanṅ macapat* or *tēmbanṅ cilik* (see 00060).

It is not unlikely that the first ballads were already put in writing at the end of the Majapahit period, still in Java. Apparently the ballad genre developed out of the repertoire of professional story-tellers, whose tales in prose were called *pamancanṅahs*. The texts have been studied and partly edited by professor Berg (see 20.500).

In the nineteenth century Balinese authors wrote *gēguritans* in *macapat* metres,

modernized versions in the Javanese-Balinese literary idiom, or in the vernacular Balinese, of Old Javanese texts. These *gēguritans*, dating from a later period than the present ballad literature, and more belletristic, will be discussed in Part Three, Belles-Lettres, of the Synopsis (30.320).

The difference between the Javanese-Balinese ballad literature and the nineteenth century historical novels in verse, which were written by Surakarta authors, will be discussed in 31.300.

20.710 Raṅga Lawé, Wijaya Krama, historical-romantic poem on an episode of Majapahit history, macapat verse:

cod. 2218 (= 5539), 3141, 3601, 3870-II (= BCB prtf 9), 4454, 4455, 4456, 4457, 4458, 4459, 4460, 4461, CB 121.

20.720 Kiduṅ Suṇḍa, historical-romantic poem on an episode of Majapahit history in tēḡahan metre (Kaḍiri, version A):

cod. 3953 (= BCB prtf 9 = CB 122).

20.730 Kiduṅ Suṇḍa in tēḡahan and macapat metres (version B):

cod. 3864, 4254.

20.740 Kiduṅ Suṇḍayana in macapat metres (version C):

cod. CB 78.

20.750 Tatwa Suṇḍa, prose tale dealing with an episode of Majapahit history:

cod. 3142 (= BCB prtf 9), CB 108.

20.760 Harṣa Wijaya, historical-romantic poem on the beginnings of the Majapahit kingdom, in tēḡahan metres:

cod. CB 72 (Krt 455 and 1266).

20.900 Local history and legends of Bali. Balinese families coming into prominence, sometimes even becoming local rulers, often tried to prove their rights by

producing genealogical trees reaching back to Majapahit. Under the present head local and family histories showing this tendency are collected. Though in some cases based on old traditions, many historical and genealogical texts of this kind probably were written down in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, not earlier. They certainly are connected with the *pamañcaṇahs* (20.500). Just like these books on old Balinese history, the present local histories show some resemblance to corresponding Javanese historical literature. As a rule both kinds show particularistic tendencies and special interest in genealogy.

Javanese local histories and genealogies are registered under various heads (22.200 ff.). In proportion to the extent of the countries, Javanese local histories are less numerous than Javanese-Balinese. Probably in the devastating wars which eventually led to the establishment of a paramount Royal dynasty in Central Java, many families of local prominence perished and their family traditions were forgotten. In Bali the supreme Kings' authority seems to have been neither great nor tyrannical, and so many old families survived. Moreover, in the twentieth century, through the activity of Balinese sponsors of the Kirtya (Foundation) Liefcrinck-van der Tuuk of Siṅaraja, many texts of local histories and family genealogies, which until then had been unknown to scholars, were unearthed and copied.

20.910 Babad Barḷi, Ṇalyan, Pamañcaṇah, Javanese-Balinese prose, local history:

cod. 9217 (Krt 238, Ḍukuh Suladri), 9416 (Krt 695), 10.170 (Krt 2195).

20.920 Babad Bulèlèṅ, prose, local history:

cod. 9300 (Krt 435 = CB 80), 9458 (Krt 779).

20.930 Pañji Sakti Wijaya, in macapat verse, on an episode of Bulèlèṅ history:

cod. 9304 (Krt 447 = CB 111).

20.940 Babad Karaṅ Aśem, Lombok, prose, local history:

cod. 9457 (Krt 778), BCB prtf 41 A.

20.950 Babad Maṅwi, prose, local history:

cod. 9639 (Krt 1135), CB 86.

20.960 Babad Pulasari, Gèlgèl, prose, ancient local history:

cod. 9707 (Krt 1262), 9609 (Krt 1069 = CB 77).

20.970 Babad Sukahèt, prose, local history:

cod. 10.025 (Krt 1921).

20.980 Babad Ularan, Gèlgèl, prose, ancient local history:

cod. 9547 (Krt 959).

20.990 Babad Dalēm Sampraṇan (Sampraṇan, Gèlgèl), prose, ancient local history:

cod. 9592 (Krt 1045).

21.000 Babad Rusak Gusti Paṇḍé, prose, ancient local history:

cod. 9527 (Krt 925).

21.010 Babad Baduṅ, prose, pamañcaṇah, local history:

cod. CB 53 (Krt 696 = BCB prtf 57), 3953-VI (= BCB prtf 9), CB 81 (extensive).

21.020 Babad Arya Tabanan, prose, pamañcaṇah, local history:

cod. 9426 (Krt 715), 9488 (Krt 840), 9620 (Krt 1095), 9974 (Krt 1792, extensive), CB 83.

21.030 Babad Ratu Tabanan, prose, pseudo Old Javanese, local history:

cod. 9492 (Krt 850 = CB 84).

21.040 Pamañcaṇah Tabanan, prose, local history:

cod. CB 49 (= 10.545 = BCB prtf 42, also called Babad Arya Tabanan).

21.050 Pamañcaṇah Tabanan, prose, local history, extensive:

cod. CB 150, 10.549 (= BCB prtf 42).

21.060 Babad Gusti Cēluk, prose, episode of ancient history:

cod. 9726 (Krt 1315).

21.070 Notes, miscellaneous, prose, on local history:

cod. CB 48.

21.080 Pabalik Gusti Batan Jēruk, prose, episode of Balinese history:

cod. 9569 (Krt 1010).

21.090 Rēřēg Karaṇ Aśēm, prose, episode of Bali and Lombok history:

cod. 9848 (Krt 1571).

21.100 Aji Janantaka, prose, legendary tales of Jambrana:

cod. 9089 (Krt 27d).

21.110 Mpu Kuturan, Bēsakih temple legend:

cod. 9182 (Krt 172).

21.200 Genealogies of Balinese families and social groups. Balinese society is divided into many family groups of different rank. Brahmin families and Kṣatriya families are considered the most prominent. The names are evidence of the influence of Indian ideas on caste, but it seems probable that ancient indigenous Balinese belief in cosmic and social order was also a factor in establishing the present division in groups of families.

For anyone who belonged to a family of standing it was important to know his pedigree. Consequently Balinese scholars made up genealogies of many prominent families. The same was the case in Java, though in

the Islamic period the division in family groups of different rank is no more in evidence (see 22.200).

Texts containing information on the subject are registered in the General Index under the catchword *genealogy*.

Under the present head genealogies of various Balinese groups are listed. Inter-relationship with books on Balinese history (20.500) and texts on local history (20.900) is evident. In fact in some cases it is difficult to make a distinction between historical and purely genealogical texts.

Balinese sponsors of the Kirtya Lieftrinck-van der Tuuk have been active also in this field, unearthing family documents and copying them. In several cases the trustworthiness of the genealogies is problematical.

21.210 Babad Triwaṇsa, prose, on brahmana, satriya and arya waṇsa:

cod. 9593 (Krt 1046).

21.220 Babad Brahmana, legendary history and genealogy of pēdanda families:

cod. 9237 (Krt 273, Brahmana Catur), 9629 (Krt 1109, Brahmana Siwa).

21.230 Babad Brahmana Kamēnuh, legendary history and genealogy of pēdanda families:

cod. 9577 (Krt 1025 = CB 87), 9662 (Krt 1117), 10.199 (Krt 2242), 10.546 (= BCB prtf 42), CB 149.

21.240 Brahmana Purana, history and genealogy of pēdanda families:

cod. 9404 (Krt 678 = CB 85).

21.250 Brahmana Cuté, mythic tale of the origin of impure brahmins:

cod. 9869 (Krt 1604), 9996 (Krt 1860).

21.260 Bujāṅga Bali, legendary history and genealogy:

cod. 9630 (Krt 1111), 5090-III, 5112-II

- (= BCB prtf 7, Tatwa nikaꦁ Bujanga Bali).
- 21.270** Brahmanṇḍa Kathā, genealogy of Bali and Lombok noble families:
cod. 5243 (= BCB prtf 9).
- 21.280** Prasasti Bla Batuh, legendary history and genealogy of the Jēlantik family:
cod. 6325.
- 21.290** Pamañcaṇah Kapakisan, legendary history and genealogy of the Kapakisan family:
cod. 5058 (= BCB prtf 9), 9819 (Krt 1497).
- 21.300** Babad Ksatriya (Gèlgèl), ancient history and genealogy of noble families of South Bali:
cod. 9413 (Krt 692), 9414 (Krt 693), 9415 (Krt 694), 9546 (Krt 958), CB 151 (Prasasti Dalēm, Parwa Tatwa Bañcaṇah), BCB prtf 42, CB 152.
- 21.310** Babad Ksatriya Taman Bali, ancient history and genealogy of noble families of South Bali (Baṅli):
cod. 9578 (Krt 1026), 9651 (Krt 1158 Paryagēm Taman Bali).
- 21.320** Babad Puṇakan Timbul, ancient history and genealogy:
cod. 9650 (Krt 1154).
- 21.330** Babad Pasėk, legendary history and genealogy of old families of South Bali, Gèlgèl:
cod. 9226 (Krt 256, Parikaṇḍan Pasėk Gèlgèl), 9548 (Krt 963), 9549 (Krt 965), 9613 (Krt 1078, Kawitan Pasėk Gèlgèl), CB 82.
- 21.340** Babad Pasėk Kayu Sėlēm Kayu Putih, legendary history and genealogy of old families of South Bali:
cod. 9579 (Krt 1027), 10.212 (Krt 2261).
- 21.350** Babad Pinatih, legendary history and genealogy of old families of South Bali:
cod. 9476 (Krt 818, Pyagēm Pinatih), 9638 (Krt 1134).
- 21.360** Babad Bandésa, legendary history and genealogy of old Balinese families:
cod. 9979 (Krt 1817, Bañcaṇah Bandésa Gèlgèl), 10.119 (Krt 2102, Bandésa Manik Mas).
- 21.370** Babad Saṅguhu, legendary history and genealogy of old Balinese families:
cod. 9091 (Krt 29, Éka Pratama), 9161 (Krt 139, Bañcaṇah Saṅguhu = CB 101), 9240 (Krt 278, Saṅguhu Asu-asa = CB 102), CB 88 (Saṅguhu Asu-asa).
- 21.380** Babad Paṇḍé Baꦁ, legendary history and genealogy of old Balinese blacksmith families:
cod. 9605 (Krt 1061), 9693 (Krt 1230), KITLV Or 321, CB 109.
- 21.390** Babad Tusan, legendary history of old blacksmith families:
cod. 9791 (Krt 1443).
- 21.400** Prasasti Paṇḍé Capuꦁ, legendary history of old silversmith families of Bratan:
cod. 9658 (Krt 1170).
- 21.410** Notes on genealogy, Karaꦁ Asēm and Lombok:
cod. CB 148 (= BCB 41).
- 21.420** Notes, miscellaneous, genealogical trees of Balinese (and other) princely and noble families:
cod. CB 118 (1), CB 118 (2), CB 118 (3).
- 21.430** Notes, miscellaneous, on history and genealogy:
cod. CB 117.

21.700 Early Javanese versions of the Sacred History of Islam.*

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Islam was introduced into East Java by Muhammadan traders coming from Champa, in Javanese called *Cĕmpa*, in Further India. Before that time Muslims had been known in Javanese centres of administration and commerce, but their religion was put on a par with the rites and beliefs of other foreigners, Indians and Chinese, who frequented the seaports of the Archipelago. Evidently a long time was needed for Islam and Muhammadan culture to become acclimatized in Java.

In the fifteenth century Muhammadan mercantile kingdoms on the North Coast superseded the ancient inland realm of the Majapahit-Kaḍiri Kings. According to seventeenth century Central Javanese historical tradition, the old East Javanese capital was taken and sacked by a combination of forces from the maritime districts of Central Java. Before the catastrophe Majapahit's political power had been steadily declining. Probably there is truth in the later Javanese and Balinese historical tradition saying that in that period the Majapahit Court and many ecclesiastical gentlemen and scholars preferred exile to becoming Muslims. They fled the country and went to Bali. By that immigration the anti-Islam faction in Bali was strengthened, and so the native rulers of the island were able to maintain the old pre-Islamic social and religious order.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries most of the islands of the Archipelago were converted to Islam. Bali was an exception. Desire for mercantile expansion in combination with zeal for the spread of the Faith drove Muhammadan traders from young maritime kingdoms on the North Coast of Java to establish or re-establish connections with countries oversea, in Sumatra (*Palĕmbaḡ*), Borneo (*Tañjuḡ Pura*), Celebes (*Makasar*) and Lombok. Probably in many cases Muslims continued and expanded where in the pre-Islamic period others had laid foundations of interinsular commerce and cultural relations. The culture which, radiating from the young Muslim mercantile communities in Javanese North Coast towns, spread along the coasts of the islands bordering on the Java sea, is called Pasisir (i.e. Coast) culture (see 00020).

Pasisir culture preserved many elements of pre-Islamic culture, especially in the provinces of social order, law, art and belles-lettres. New elements, of Islamic origin, were added. In the field of religion Islam superseded pre-Islamic religious speculation and ritual. In the countries reached by Javanese Pasisir culture Muslim religious influence never was strong enough to oust all remnants of pre-Islamic times, though. On the contrary, in the Pasisir period the blending of elements of culture of different origin, indigenous, Indian and Islamic, was a striking feature. It resulted in the national Javanese civilization of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The blending of elements of culture of different origin is illustrated by the various kinds of script in use

* The historical and mythological texts which are registered in the following paragraphs (21.700—25.440) belong mainly to Era C of Javanese cultural history, the Pasisir period (see 00020). The literary idioms are mainly East Javanese and Pasisir Javanese (see 00030, groups 3 and 4).

since the Pasisir period, Javanese-Indian and Arabic (see 00090).

In the mercantile kingdoms of the North Coast, Old Javanese culture was clad in Muslim garb. True, Old Javanese historical and belletristic texts were preserved and copied, but in addition literature was enriched with texts and tales belonging to Islamic-Indian tradition. As in India Islam had been introduced by way of Persia, the literary and historical tradition of the Indian Muslims contained many Persian elements. Probably the maritime districts of Gujarat, on the West Coast of India, were intermediate stations on the way of Persian Islam to south-east Asia.

In Java a literary tradition of old mythologic tales, partly of Indian, partly of indigenous origin, already existed in the pre-Islamic period. Muslim tradition was added to it, but it did not supersede the older tales. In the Universal Histories, Books of Tales, of the Pasisir period, Islamic histories of Creation were incorporated together with mythic and epic tales of Indian and indigenous origin. In the period of the Surakarta renaissance, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the two seemingly incongruous chains of tales were united by means of the ancient concept of dualism in the cosmos. Seen from the point of view of nineteenth century Javanese scholars, Old Javanese Indian, and Islamic tradition represented two aspects, called Left and Right, of eternal and invariable cosmic and social Order.

In the period of Pasisir culture this comprehensive view was not yet generally accepted. Perhaps as early as the sixteenth century Javanese versions of popular Arabic

texts on the history of the prophets were written. For a long time they coexisted with ancient histories based on Old Javanese tradition of Indian or indigenous origin. No doubt in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in religious circles the histories of the prophets were considered as containing the only true account of facts, and in these circles that attitude has prevailed up to modern times. But then, in Javanese culture, Islam was never all-pervading. Old Javanese mythic tradition was never superseded by the histories of the prophets, neither were the latter, in the period of the Surakarta renaissance, completely ousted from their place in literature.

The histories of the prophets are called *Sĕrat Anbiya*, Book of the Prophets, or sometimes *Tapĕl Adam*, The Formation of Adam. Several times the *ʿUmdatul-ʿAnsāb*, an Arabic treatise on the genealogy of Muhammad written in Acheh, an epitome of an extensive sixteenth century Persian book, is mentioned as authority (see Voorhoeve, in BKI vol. 108, 1952, p. 207). In many cases of Arabic religious texts being introduced into Javanese literature, Malay translations or versions, made in North Sumatra or in the Peninsula, were intermediaries. It seems probable that the oldest Javanese *Anbiya* texts have Malay prototypes. In the course of time Javanese authors proceeded to remodelling and versifying them according to Javanese literary standards. Sometimes authors of Javanese *Anbiya* texts continued the tales up to the life of the men who introduced Islam in Java.

Javanese *Anbiya* texts are found in various versions, in prose and in verse. Probably the prose versions have a closer relationship

with Malay or Arabic originals than the poetic versions. As a rule, all Javanese historical and belletristic text written in the Pasisir period, and after, are in *macapat* verse. Prose texts are an exception (see 00040). Unless the prose form of a text is stated, all books which are registered in the following paragraphs must be assumed to contain texts in verse.

In religious communities Javanese Anbiya texts were read as edifying literature. As a rule Arabic script was used, and as a consequence the Javanese texts have not been handed down faultlessly. So it is impossible to ascertain when and where the first Javanese Anbiya texts were written. On account of the well-known historical fact of the origin of Islamic Javanese literature in the Pasisir districts, it seems safe to assume that the oldest Anbiya texts were written in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries in religious communities in North Coast towns, Surabaya, Grėsik, Tuban, Dėmak, also Cėrbon and Bantėn.

In the nineteenth century Anbiya texts in verse were published in Javanese script by local printers in Java (Tapėl Adam, edited by Kramadiwirya, Batavia, 1859, and Surakarta, 1905). In the twentieth century a similar text written in Arabic script was printed by means of the lithographic process in Bombay. Poerbatjaraka's book "Indo-*nesische Handschriften*" (1950) contains descriptions and epitomes of Anbya texts in the KBG collection, Djakarta. In Poerbatjaraka's opinion ("Kapustakan Djawi", 1952, p. 49) the well-known Surakarta Court poet Yasadipura also edited an Anbiya text.

References to manuscripts containing An-

biya or related texts are to be found in the General Index under the catchwords *Anbiya*, *Tapėl Adam* and *Carita Satus*. The *Carita Satus*, a collection of one hundred edifying tales about the Prophets, has been registered in Part One, Religion (16.420), because the religious element is paramount in the book.

21.710 Sėrat Anbiya, in prose:

cod. NBS 41 (= 4046 = NBS 378), 6521.

21.700 Sėrat Anbiya, in verse, West Javanese origin:

cod. 6503, 7372, 7373, 7374, 7516, NBS 265.

21.730 Sėrat Anbiya, in verse, Central Javanese or East Javanese origin:

cod. 2002, 2118, 2161, 4043, 4044, 4045, 10.536 (= prtř 35, Tapėl Adam), NBS 39, NBS 43/44, NBS 103, Utr. RUB Ind.St. Hs.1.D.12 (Creation).

21.740 Sėrat Anbiya, in verse, East Javanese and Balinese origin:

cod. 4041, 4042, 4915, 8497, 8964, 9042, Nst 17.

21.900 History of Moses in Egypt. Some tales from the Book of the Prophets have always arrested the attention of the pious: the history of Moses in Egypt, the life of Joseph and, of course, the life of Muhammad and all tales pertaining to him. In religious circles Javanese texts on these subjects were edifying reading-matter. For that reason the books could have been listed in Part One, Religion.

On account of their close connection with the major Anbiya texts which have been discussed in 21.700, the lives of Moses and Muhammad are registered under the present and the next head of the present Part Two,

History. The extraordinary popularity of the tale of Joseph in East Java and Madura seems to entitle it to a place of its own in Part Three, Belles-Lettres (30.520), next to other romances of foreign origin which in those districts became popular reading-matter.

The history of Moses in Egypt is called in Javanese *Sĕrat Raja Piraṇon* (or *Pirṇon*): The Book of King Pharaoh, *Piraṇon* being the Javanese form of Arabic *Firʿawn*: Pharaoh. Just like the other histories of the Prophets in the Javanese *Anbiya* texts, the *Sĕrat Piraṇon* differs in some points from the Biblical tale. That is a consequence of the fact that the *Anbiya* texts are adaptations of Arabic originals, and Islamic tradition of Biblical tales is known to have swerved from the Old Hebrew text.

The *Raja Piraṇon* book in prose is one of the first texts edited by professor Roorda (1844) for the use of Dutch students of Javanese in Delft. This may explain the large number of manuscripts in the Leiden collection containing the text: apparently they were used by professor Roorda in preparing the edition. It is improbable that in Javanese religious circles the *Sĕrat Piraṇon* at any time enjoyed a popularity as great as the history of Joseph and the life of Muhammad.

References to manuscripts providing information on the subject are to be found in the General Index under the catchwords *Piraṇon* and *Musa* (Moses).

21.910 *Sĕrat Raja Piraṇon*, in prose:

cod. 2119, 2122, 2123, 2129, NBS 46,
NBS 47, NBS 160.

22.000 *Life of Muhammad*. It

seems probable that biographies of the Prophet Muhammad were among the first books read in Muslim religious circles in Java. In the beginning the Javanese Muslim's religious thinking was dominated by mystic concepts. On account of the central place occupied by the person of Muhammad, the Perfect Man (*Insān Kāmil*), in Islamic mysticism, treatises on the Prophet's life were in favour among the pious. Episodes where his divine inspiration (*Nūr Muhammad*: Muhammad's Light, pre-existing) was in evidence were brought out in full relief in the Javanese books.

Javanese biographies of Muhammad are closely connected with the *Anbiya* texts; indeed in some manuscripts they are united. In fact in Islamic theology the Biblical patriarchs and Kings who are called prophets are precursors of Muhammad. Probably Javanese biographies of Muhammad for one part are amplifications of the concluding chapters of extensive *Anbiya* texts, which are of Arabic-Persian origin. On the other hand, some Javanese texts contain tales connecting the Prophet with Aji Saka, a personage belonging to Javanese mythology (see 23.100). Seen from a Javanese point of view, a legend about Muhammad meeting Aji Saka is not strange: both are mythic founders of social and religious order, Muhammad of Islam and Aji Saka of Old Javanese society. There is no need saying that such tales are not of Arabic origin. Some Indian-Persian prototype seems not impossible, however. In some respects such tales are comparable with pre-Islamic myths.

The tales which were collected in the *Ménak Amir Hamza* cycle (see 30.460) seem to be of a comparable type and of the

same Indian-Persian origin as some Javanese biographies of Muhammad. Probably the oldest Javanese *Ménak Amir Hamza* tales also date from the beginning of Islamic literature in the marcantile kingdoms on the North Coast, where foreign traders were frequent visitors.

Episodes of Muhammad's life and his family's history which are often described in Javanese biographies are his birth (how his mother Aminah conceived him), his shaving (*Paras Nabi*), the Ascension to Heaven (*Mikrad*, Arabic *Mi'rağ*), the war with Raja Lakad, the Kandak war (*khandak*: moat), the meeting with Samud, and the Prophet's death. Several of these episodes were described separately in Javanese texts which were read as edifying reading-matter by the pious. Muhammad's daughter *Fāṭima* (in Javanese *Patimah*, often called *Pratimah* or *Përtimah*) and his son-in-law 'Ali (*Ḍali*) are often mentioned together. These edifying texts have been registered in Part One, Religion (16.400). Under the present head biographic texts of a historical character including the Lakad and Kandak tales are collected.

The Javanese biographies of Muhammad are as difficult to date and to locate with any degree of certainty as the *Anbiya* texts (21.700). Probably several texts were written in the Eastern Pasisir districts. Some remarkable manuscripts are even of Lombok origin. As a rule, in Java, biographies of the Prophet are called *Carita Nabi* or *Carita Rasul*.

In his book on "Indonesische Handschriften" (1950) professor Poerbatjaraka has given descriptions of many manuscripts

belonging to the KBG collection, Djakarta, containing *Anbiya* and *Carita Rasul* texts. He mentions i.a. the tale of *Patimah Sami* (the Syrian princess who tried to become the Prophet's mother, but failed). There is reason to believe that originally this tale had a Shi'itic tendency. 'Ali and his descendants are extolled. It is a well-known fact that Shi'itic concepts once had some influence in Sumatra. No doubt they were introduced by Indian Muslims. In Javanese Islam Shi'itic features are very scarce.

The Lakad and the Kandak tales are listed by Poerbatjaraka under the head *Pasantrèn* literature, i.e. reading-matter of Javanese religious communities. By other Javanese scholars the Lahad or Lakad tale was considered as belonging to the *Ménak Amir Hamza* cycle (see 30.460).

Manuscripts containing texts referring to the subject are to be found in the General Index under the catchword *Muhammad*.

22.010 *Carita Rasul*, East Javanese and Balinese origin:

cod. 3690 (= 4704), 3793 (called *Nabi Mérad*, = 4341 = 10.673 = BCB prtf 150), 4233, 4899, 4925, 4929 (= 10.672 = BCB prtf 149), 5442, 6228, 6410, 8997, 9003, 10.394, CB 5 (*Patimah Sami*), RtMLV 11719, Utr. RUB Ind. St. Hs. 1.D.11 (*Kadis*), BrKMA 6644 (*Patimah Sami*).

22.020 Lakad episode:

cod. 1984, 4900, 5771, 9013, DFT S 227-8, DFT S 240/280-17.

22.030 Kandak episode, East Javanese:

cod. REM 2244-2.

22.040 Unduk episode, Lombok origin:

cod. 10.352 (*Krt* 10.006), AdKIT H 967.

22.200 Historical literature of the Eastern North Coast districts.

The Pasisir period of Javanese history was marked by social and political commotions. Beginning with the introduction of Islam and the fall of ancient Majapahit, the era brought wars between young Muslim states among themselves and wars against European traders, Portuguese and Dutch. It is worth noticing that in most countries within the sphere of influence of the Pasisir culture historical literature was very much in favour. Apparently the commotions of the surrounding world prompted authors to write books on history, both ancient and referring to their own times. Perhaps they were also influenced by the strong historical sense of Islam. Indian literature, conspicuous for its lack of interest for political history, had given pre-Islamic Javanese historians but weak impulses to write.

The interior of Central Java was converted by men who came from the Pasisir districts and so, in the inland centres of modern Javanese literature, Mataram and Surakarta, Islamic literature developed at a relatively late date. For that reason in the present Synopsis a discussion of Pasisir literature precedes the paragraphs referring to the bulk of modern Central Javanese literature which for the greater part was written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The mercantile states where the Javanese Pasisir culture flourished can be divided into three groups: the eastern (Giri-Grěsik, Tuban, Madura, Blambaŋan, Lombok), the central (Děmak, Kudus, Japara, Bañjar Masin, Tañjun Pura) and the western (Cěrbon, Bantěn, the Suṇḍa districts,

Lampun, Palėmbaŋ). Political histories and years of those towns and districts are imperfectly known. Probably there is truth in the Javanese historical tradition saying that the first foothold of Islam was in Surabaya and in Grěsik and the second in Dėmak. In Javanese cultural history West Java (Cěrbon and Bantěn) occupies a place of minor importance. Therefore it seems reasonable to begin the discussion of the various local Pasisir histories with the eastern group, Giri-Grěsik, and to proceed westwards.

Surabaya certainly was an important centre of commerce already in the fourteenth century, perhaps even earlier. No wonder that Muslim traders (according to Javanese tradition coming from Cěmpa, i.e. Champa, in Further India) settled there, founding a small middle-class community. In the course of time the Muslims took over the political administration from the local representatives of the Majapahit King, and so a Muslim township was founded. Probably similar proceedings marked the beginnings of most mercantile kingdoms on the North Coast.

Unfortunately, in the course of history, the districts of the deltas of the two great rivers of East Java, the Běŋawan and the Brantas, experienced many disturbances. Surabaya, Grěsik, Giri and also Tuban were several times taken by enemies and sacked. Probably many valuable objects of art and also manuscripts were destroyed. Though they were the most important, culturally and economically, of the Pasisir kingdoms, only a regrettably small number of the local histories of old Surabaya, Grěsik-Giri and Tuban have come down to us. In the

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries part of the local traditions was incorporated in the great General Histories of Java which were being written in Central Java at the time. It is difficult to make a distinction in these texts between really old local tradition and later reconstruction of history.

As a matter of course the new Muslim rulers of the Pasisir districts had their genealogies written down as they came into prominence. There is a difference in social background, however, between the Islamic genealogies and the Javanese-Balinese texts which have been discussed in 21.200. The conversion of Java to Islam was due in part to the energy of prosperous middle-class traders of mixed blood. Islam has a tendency to level society. Purity of descent is not deemed of paramount importance. It is likely that social privileges, marriage taboos etc., based on the traditions of old families of rank, and their genealogies, such as have been preserved in Bali for many centuries, disappeared in Java in the period of the rise of Islam in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It is also possible that the turbulent political history of Java even before that time had done away with many distinctions of social classes, and with hereditary privileges of prominent families. The genealogical trees of the Islamic period do not refer to social groups comparable with hereditary castes, but merely to the descendants of great Kings or holy men.

Under the catchwords *Surabaya*, *Grěsik*, *Giri*, *Tuban* and *Sěṇḍan* *Sidayu* manuscripts containing information on these towns are registered in the General Index. At least three sacred graves of walis, apostles of Islam in Java, are found in these towns:

sunan Ħampěl Děnta in Surabaya, sunan Giri in Giri, and sunan Bonar, in Tuban. The legendary histories of the walis will be registered under a separate head (24.500). Under the present head the available local histories of the towns are collected.

22.210 Grěsik history and genealogy:

cod. 6842 (historical notes), 8581 (Grěsik notes), 8582 (genealogy, from Muhammad), NBS 21, KITLV Or 228 (Sasilah).

22.220 Tuban notes on walis:

cod. 8614.

22.230 Sidayu notes:

cod. KITLV Or 229 (Sajarah).

22.240 History of Děmak-Pajaṅ-Mataram, Madura origin:

cod. CB 140.

22.250 Notes on genealogy:

cod. RtMLV 17543.

22.260 Kiduṅ Arok, old Surabaya legendary history:

cod. 10.544 (= BCB prtf 40: KBG *cod.* 47).

22.270 Giri-Grěsik history, Cěṇṭini beginning:

cod. 8990 no. 3.

22.300 *Madurese history.* Since olden times the island of Madura has been part of the dominions of Kings ruling in the districts of the Brantas and Běṅawan deltas. Immigration of Madurese people into districts of East Java also dates from pre-Islamic times. In some cases a want of arable land may have induced groups of Madurese to leave their arid island, in other cases they were sent to Java as unfree labourers, bondmen of Javanese lords, to work on seignorial estates.

No Madurese texts written in pre-Islamic times are in evidence. Apparently for a very

long time Madurese people used the Javanese language (closely related to their native tongue) to express themselves in writing. A Javanese-Madurese idiom was used to that end, comparable with the Javanese-Balinese, which occupies an important place in Bali. Not before the nineteenth century were Madurese literary texts, until then apparently transmitted orally, written down in Javanese script (see Uhlenbeck, "The 'Languages of Java and Madura'", 1964).

In the flourishing period of the Pasisir culture, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Madurese districts ruled by dynasts probably of mixed Javanese-Madurese blood, sometimes played an important role in Javanese politics. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Regents of the Madura Regencies Baṅkalan (often called Madura proper), Sampaṅ, Pamēkasan and Sumēñep, allied by marriage with many noble East Javanese families and even with the Royal Family of Surakarta, were staunch supporters of the Dutch administration. The Madurese militia, Barisan Madura, was incorporated in the Dutch East Indian army. As a military organization it was comparable with the Maṅku Nagaran Legion of Surakarta.

Madurese gentlemen, often military men, were interested in political developments. In the course of time some histories of Madura, dealing with Javanese-Madurese relations, were written in the Javanese-Madurese idiom. They are registered under the present head. In the field of Belles-Lettres Madura also produced some interesting books. The Baṅsa Cara (or Baṅ Sacara?) legend (Dutch translation in Djāwā, vol. 12, 1932) is comparable with nineteenth century Central Ja-

vanese historical novellistic literature like Prana Citra and Jaka Paṅasih (see 31.300).

References to manuscripts containing relevant texts are to be found in the General Index under the catchword *Madura*.

22.310 Madurese history, West Madura, Baṅkalan:

cod. 2334.

22.320 Madurese history, East Madura, Sumēñep:

cod. 3177 (= 10.684 = BCB prtf 168).

22.330 Ancient legendary history, Jaka Tulé:

cod. 4943 (= 10.687, 10.689 = BCB prtf 172), 4944.

22.340 Ancient legendary history, Muslim influence, Juragan Gulisman:

cod. 4086 (Kaṇḍa), 10.995.

22.350 Ancient legendary history, Jaran Panolèh:

cod. 9026.

22.360 Pak Lésap, episode of Madurese history:

cod. 4897 (= 10.685 = BCB prtf 169), 5547.

22.370 Madurese marriage of King Paku Buwana VII of Surakarta:

cod. 6780, 6782.

22.380 Episode of British invasion, naval actions off the Madura coast, ± 1810):

cod. CB 20 (Babad Madura Angris).

22.390 Baṅsa Cara, Madurese legendary history, prose:

cod. 2332.

22.400 Baṅsa Cara, in verse:

cod. 5543, 9047.

22.500 Blambagan and Pasuruhan histories. In the Siṅsari-Majapahit period, and perhaps even earlier, the Javanese districts East of the Tenggèr-

Sméru massif, in Dutch called “De Oost-“hoek” (literally: The Eastern Corner), occupied an important place among the dominions of the Javanese Kings. The easternmost district of Blambangan, with the town of Bañuwañi, situated on Strait Bali opposite the western point of this island, is the theatre of some well-known Javanese epic and legendary tales: Sri Tañjuṣ and Damar Wulan. In the present Synopsis they are registered in Part Three, Belles-Lettres (30.240 and 30.850).

On account of its vicinity Blambangan is mentioned repeatedly in Javanese-Balinese historical texts, which have been registered in the present Part Two, 20.900 and 21.200. Several times Balinese warriors invaded the Blambangan district. The reverse also happened.

According to legendary tales from Grěsik, referring to the beginning of the period of the Muslim Pasisir culture, Blambangan rulers for a time maintained the old pre-Islamic social and religious order. That was to be expected on account of the vicinity of conservative Bali. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the “Eastern Corner” districts were wavering between the sphere of influence of near-by Bali and the authority of the Muslim Javanese and Madurese Regents, backed by the Dutch East India Company in far-off Batavia. Finally in the second half of the eighteenth century the Balinese were driven from Blambangan, and as a result a considerable part of the “Eastern Corner” districts was occupied by Madurese invaders (see the present author’s “Aantekeningen betreffende de Javaanse “Oosthoek”, TBG 1932, vol. 72).

Manuscripts containing texts referring to

these districts are registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Bañuwañi*, *Blambangan* (or *Balambangan*), *Pasuruhan* (*Gěmbon*) and *Prabaliṅga* (*Bañěr*).

22.510 Blambangan history:

cod. 2185 (= 10.556 = BCB prtf 65),
4087 (= 10.699 = BCB prtf 180), 4088.

22.520 Babad Bayu, episode of Blambangan history:

cod. 4090 (= 10.698 = BCB prtf 179).

22.530 Notes on Bañuwañi history:

cod. 4089 (= 10.686 = BCB prtf 170).

22.540 Babad Pasuruhan (*Gěmbon*):

cod. CB 142.

22.550 Basuki history:

cod. 2186.

22.700 Lombok histories and genealogies. In the pre-Islamic period Lombok, the island East of Bali, is only once or twice mentioned in literature. The distance separating it from the centre of culture in East Java was great.

In the period of the Pasisir culture Muslim traders, probably from Grěsik, appear to have converted part of the local Lombok chiefs to Islam. In a somewhat later period adventurous gentlemen from the easternmost Balinese districts, situated opposite the island of Lombok, organized raids and conquered the most fertile districts. They succeeded in founding a Balinese kingdom, where Balinese law and religious customs were observed, ruling over the indigenous partly Muslim population, called Sasaks. The name Mataram, given to an important centre in Lombok, reminds one of the powerful Javanese Kings of the seventeenth century. There is no evidence, however, that Javanese rulers of Mataram wielded power over Lombok at any time.

Probably the Sasaks of Lombok were not converted to Islam until the beginning of the seventeenth century. Their communication with the centre of Muslim culture in East Java was difficult and perhaps it was often interrupted by the Balinese. The remarkable division between the Waktu Tělu and Waktu Lima groups of Muslims in Lombok has been discussed in Part One, Religion (16.900). The Javanese-Sasak texts which explain this division are registered under the present head, because they refer to myths.

The idiom of Muslim literature in Lombok is East Javanese, with streaks of Javanese-Balinese and Sasak. Books were also written in the native Sasak language. In the field of literature the situation in Lombok was comparable, in a way, with that in Madura (see 22.300), but in Madura, literature in the native tongue seems to have been written down later than in Lombok. Balinese and Sasak sponsors of the Kirtya Lieftrinck-van der Tuuk in Sınaraja, North Bali, have done excellent work in Lombok, collecting manuscripts containing Javanese-Balinese, Muslim Javanese-Sasak and purely Sasak texts.

Under the present head texts referring to Muslim Lombok mythology and legendary history are collected. Purely religious Muslim texts written in Bali and Lombok have been registered under a separate head (16.900). In Part Three, Belles-Lettres,

some Javanese-Balinese romances from Lombok, partly showing influence of Islam, will be discussed (30.430).

In the General Index texts referring to the subject are registered under the catch-words *Lombok* and *Sasak*.

22.710 Kěbo Mundar, legendary tale of the introduction of Islam in Lombok:

cod. 4249 (version A, Měđarj Wanwa, = 10.625 = BCB prtf 74), 4250 (version B, Mantri Moděr, = 10.626 = BCB prtf 74).

22.720 History of Lombok Islam:

cod. 6621 (= 10.677 = BCB prtf 159), 6442, Teeuw 6, Teeuw 8 (Sandu Baya).

22.730 Hikayat Nabi, Nur Cahya and Nur Sada, mythical tale of Lombok Islam:

cod. 10.308 (Krt 10.105), 10.309 (Krt 10.106), 10.343 (Krt 10.093), 10.349 (Krt 10.098), 10.391 (Krt. 10.547, Babad Sasak, concise), KITLV Or 319, Teeuw 5.

22.740 Lombok palmleaves and thin copper-plates, mythical history, genealogy:

cod. KITLV Or 324, 325 I, II, III, 326.

22.750 Notes on Lombok and Bali history:

cod. AdKIT A 4852, Teeuw 7, Teeuw 9 (Lombok genealogy: KBG Eng. no. 1), Teeuw 10.

22.760 History of Lombok:

cod. BCB prtf 41A (extensive).

22.700 Piyagēm Ratu Saji Batu Dëndèn:

cod. 11.023.

22.900 Historical literature of the Central North Coast districts.

The propagation of Islam in Java started from the trading towns in the eastern districts, Surabaya and Grěsik, and from Cěrbon. Neither in East Java nor in West

Java, however, kingdoms of politically great importance were founded in the Pasisir period (except, in some respects, in Bantěn). But some towns of the central part of the

North Coast, Dĕmak, Kudus and Japara, did know a period of political expansion in the sixteenth century. Eighteenth century Javanese historians considered the Muslim Dĕmak Kings as legitimate successors of the heathenish Majapahit rulers. In Javanese historical tradition the great mosque of Dĕmak became the national centre of Islam, venerated as fervently as the holy places of international Muhammadanism in Arabia, Mecca and Medina.

In the field of literature the flourishing Central Pasisir kingdom of Dĕmak was fruitful. Numerous books on law, compendiums and adaptations of Old Javanese law-books, dating from the Dĕmak period or shortly afterwards, will be discussed in Part Four of the present Synopsis (47.400). Probably several works on religion, and perhaps some belletristic books, belong to the same period and the same centre of culture (see 16.500 and 30.670 ff.). But history was the subject in which the Dĕmak rulers and scholars, who considered themselves successors and heirs of Majapahit, took an interest above all other things. The great changes in political and social order, the introduction of Islam and the overthrow of the old kingdom of Majapahit had impressed them greatly.

When the seventeenth century scholars of the Central North Coast districts became acquainted with Muslim religious and historical traditions, different from Old Javanese tales of either indigenous Javanese or Indian origin, they wanted a frame wherein to unite all myths, legends, histories and tales. This idea of uniting all known mythical and historical tales gave rise to the writing of the Universal Histories and compendiums of mythology of the Pasisir culture. True,

Old Javanese literature produced some encyclopedias (see 46.500), but they were not firmly founded on a historical concept. Probably the historical view of the authors of Pasisir Universal Histories was sharpened by the Islamic concept of continuity in world history, beginning with creation up to modern times.

According to eighteenth and nineteenth century tradition the *walis*, the holy men who introduced Islam into Java in the fifteenth century, were also the inventors of some important arts: the art of wayang-puppet making, of wayang-theatre performances, of the making of gamĕlan instruments and theatrical masks. Historically it is beyond doubt that these arts existed already in the pre-Islamic period. It is easy to understand that the *walis*, inaugurating a new period, namely the era of Islam, were considered patrons of all arts belonging to that period. But then, perhaps, there is a deeper truth in the Javanese tradition. In the pre-Islamic period the above mentioned arts still were sacral offices closely connected with religion, ritual and worship. In the Muslim period they were secularized, and so they became arts in the common sense of the word. The *walis* (i.e. the Muslim scholars of the Pasisir period) discovered them, and laid them bare for the profane public.

A similar secularizing tendency may have prevailed with the authors of the Universal Histories of the Pasisir period. They incorporated in their books mythic tales and epic history from the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa which before had been considered sacred. Divulging them had been thought almost a profanation. Moreover in the General Histories tales of the adventures

of epic heroes were told, with the actions of the *panakawans*, the astute semi-divine mentors and wizards, which in the pre-Islamic period belonged to the sphere of sacral and secret exorcist rites.

In Javanese literature the Universal Histories produced by the Pasisir culture of Central Java generally are called *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa*, Books of Tales. Sometimes the name is amplified into *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa niṅ Riṅgit Purwa*, Book of Tales of the Wayaṅ Purwa Theatre. By this name is expressed the connection existing between universal history and wayaṅ theatre plays. Parts of the contents of Pasisir *Sĕrat Kaṇḍas* and wayaṅ theatre plays are identical or at least comparable. Probably the *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa* authors and the wayaṅ play performers used the same fund of traditions pertaining to mythic and epic history.

Sĕrat Kaṇḍa and wayaṅ play literature seem to have acted one upon the other in the following manner. The *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa* authors, while incorporating mythic and epic tales into their Universal Histories, adopted characters which the theatrical performers of old had introduced, especially the *panakawans*, the wizards who act as mentors of the heroes. No doubt the *panakawans*, *Sĕmar* and his fellows, belong to ancient indigenous Javanese mythology. Their appearance in wayaṅ plays is a consequence of the wayaṅ's original sacral function of exorcizing evil influences. Originally *Sĕmar* and his fellows were supernatural exorcists. By adopting *panakawan* characters, Muslim *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa* authors introduced an element of ancient indigenous religion into their books. In 30.080 the introduction of *panakawans* into Old Javanese epical kakawins will be dis-

cussed. In the pre-Islamic period this introduction marked the beginning of the Javanization of imported Indian culture.

In its turn, wayaṅ play literature was enriched by the epic tales of Indian origin told in a concise form by *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa* authors. In the course of time wayaṅ plays were arranged in a chronological order as if they were descriptions of episodes of a history. In the flourishing renaissance period of Surakarta literature, in the nineteenth century, the tendency of associating mythic and epic wayaṅ play literature with history grew particularly strong (see 31.080). Its beginning was already visible in the Pasisir period.

In the introduction to his admirable Pararaton edition Dr Brandes drew attention to the above-mentioned connection of Universal Histories and wayaṅ theatre plays in Javanese literature. In Part Three, *Belles-Lettres*, of the present Synopsis the wayaṅ plays will be discussed at some length.

Beside mythic and epic tales, *Sĕrat Kaṇḍas* of the Pasisir period contain legendary history and tales of their own times, or shortly before, which are not associated with wayaṅ play literature. The decline and fall of Majapahit and the rise of Muslim kingdoms on the North Coast are described at great length. Probably in several cases *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa* information on historical facts is reliable, because it is founded on old local tradition. Dr de Graaf has reconstructed part of the history of those turbulent times by comparing several texts, some Javanese, some eighteenth century Dutch translations of Javanese books.

At the end of the sixteenth century political power in Central Java shifted from the

North Coast districts to the interior of the country. Districts which already in pre-Islamic times had been political centres of some importance, Pajaṅ and Mataram, now became independent kingdoms. According to eighteenth and nineteenth century Javanese historians the Pajaṅ and Mataram Kings were legitimate heirs of the Dēmak rulers, who in their time had received the Majapahit inheritance.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century the Muslim Mataram Kings began a successful series of wars, conquering first the old Pasisir kingdoms on the North Coast of Central Java, and afterwards the other Pasisir states to the East, up to Grēsik, Giri and Surabaya. In many cases these devastating wars of conquest meant the end of flourishing centres of Pasisir culture. The warlike Mataram conquerors, returning to the interior of the country, brought home with their booty some products of Pasisir culture, objects of art and books. But the development of the Pasisir culture was interrupted. In the Mataram capital for a long time political struggles and wars of succession made life uneasy and existence precarious. Circumstances were unfavourable for the cultivation of art and literature.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, partly in consequence of the Dutch East India Company's actions, political equilibrium was established in Central Java, and the period of the renaissance of Kartasura and Surakarta began. Scholars of the time were acquainted with Pasisir literature, especially with books originally written in the Central and Eastern North Coast districts. The idioms did not sound unfamiliar to them. In histories of their own times, written

by scholars of Surakarta, many tales borrowed from the older Pasisir histories and Sērat Kaṇḍas were incorporated (see 25.600 and 27.000). Probably several old texts were completely or in part rewritten in the modern Surakarta literary idiom. Therefore in many cases it is difficult to determine whether a given historical text originally belongs to Pasisir literature or not. As a rule the manuscripts containing these texts are not older than the eighteenth century.

Under the present head historical texts of the Sērat Kaṇḍa type, Universal Histories of the Central Java Pasisir culture, are collected. Several codexes are certainly of East Pasisir, Grēsik origin. As Central and East Pasisir districts had frequent contacts it is difficult to ascertain whether the original texts were written in Central or in East Java.

Dr Hazeu studied the relations between numerous manuscripts of the Leiden and Batavia-Djakarta (KBG) collections (see cod. 6441 and cod. 6505, registered in 49.750). Apparently several codexes are overlapping and many manuscripts have intercalations and additions. Sometimes historical texts were brought up to the times of the last scribe-editor.

Lastly it is to be noted that eighteenth and nineteenth century authors of historical works often prefixed a mythical and genealogical introduction beginning with Adam and the gods. In the present Synopsis such books have been listed under the head histories. The mythological introductions are disregarded. Manuscripts containing texts as discussed in 22.900 ff. and 23.100 ff. are

registered in the General Index under the catchword *Kaṇḍa*.

22.910 *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa niṅ Riṅgit Purwa*:

cod. 6379 (KBG 7, 9 volumes, Major *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa*, Central Pasisir), 11.081.

22.920 *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa Banduṅ*:

cod. 1868 (= BCB prtf 39, Grĕsik ms).

22.930 *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa and Babad Mataram*:

cod. 6378, 6483 (KBG 120), 6601 (KBG Brandes no. 28), 6603 (KBG Brandes no. 37), 8498, NBS 158.

23.100 *Compendiums of Mythology, Pasisir culture*. Several texts going under the name *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa*, Book of Tales, contain only mythical and epic tales. They have no connection with Javanese history. In fact these texts in particular could be called, *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa niṅ Riṅgit Purwa*, Book of Tales of the Wayaṅ Purwa Theatre. The connection with mythology is evident.

Under the present head specifically mythological *Sĕrat Kaṇḍas* are collected. Most of them contain Arjuna Sasra Bahu, Rama and Paṇḍawa tales. They show some relationship with the great pre-Islamic epic kakawins *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhārata Yuddha* etc. (30.000 ff.) and with the eighteenth and nineteenth Surakarta epic poems *Sĕrat Rama*, *Brata Yuda* etc. (30.900), which are modernizations of Old Javanese originals. Javanese mythological *Sĕrat Kaṇḍas* are remotely comparable with the Javanese-Balinese *Purwa Saṅgara*, a compendium of epic tales found in Old Javanese kakawin literature (see 30.346).

In details the tales of Pasisir *Sĕrat Kaṇḍas* often differ from the classical epics. In Rama tales the differences are striking (see 31.067). No doubt mythological *Sĕrat*

Kaṇḍas have an affinity with the traditions of professional story-tellers and performers of wayaṅ theatre plays.

The Aji Saka texts which are also listed under the present head contain mythic tales referring to various Pasisir districts. *Mĕḍaṅ Kamulan*, and the *Kĕṇḍĕṅ* hills, between East and Central Pasisir, occupy an important place in the tales. Relationship with *Sĕrat Kaṇḍas* registered under the preceding head, in particular with the *Banduṅ* text, is evident. In some Aji Saka tales a remarkable blending of Old Javanese and Muslim elements (Muhammad and his followers) is apparent (see 22.000). It is difficult to distinguish between Central Pasisir and East Pasisir texts. The cultural centre of the East Pasisir districts, Grĕsik (Giri), exercised a strong influence on Central Java.

23.110 Mythological *Sĕrat Kaṇḍas* beginning with Adam (mostly of Grĕsik origin):

cod. 4084 (= 10.671 = BCB prtf 148), 4926 (Madura), 4946 (Sajarah Paṅjiwa), 6380 (KBG 122), 6381 (KBG 59), 6382 (KBG 144), 6383 (KBG 376), NBS 108 (= NBS 20), DFT S 240/280-32, 33 (old Dutch translation).

23.120 Mythological *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa* beginning with Watu Gunuṅ:

cod. 4085.

23.130 Mythological *Sĕrat Kaṇḍas*, wayan tales (East Pasisir origin):

cod. 6580 (KBG 14), REM 3065-1.

23.140 Aji Saka, mythic tales, beginning with *Siṅḍula*, *Mĕḍaṅ Kamulan*:

cod. 1803, 2041, 2099, 2307, NBS 23 (= NBS 120 = 10.682 = BCB prtf 166), KITLV Or 359.

23.150 Aji Saka, mythic tales, Winter's prose version:

cod. 1835, NBS 119, KITLV Or 6.

23.160 Aji Saka, mythic tales, Islamic features:

cod. 5767 b, 5789, 5790.

23.170 Old Dutch epitome of a mythologic Sĕrat Kaṇḍa:

cod. 6531 (DFT 20 and 24, Sĕrat Kaṇḍa of Delft).

23.180 Notes, the Sultan of Rum, Islamic features:

cod. 7477.

23.300 Local histories of Central North Coast districts. Politically, Central Pasisir kingdoms were closely connected with the districts in the interior of Central Java, where in the seventeenth century the powerful Mataram realm was established. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries local histories of Dĕmak, Jipaṅ and other Pasisir kingdoms in part were incorporated in the great Mataram histories of the time, and remodelled in

accordance with Mataram dynastic politics. Scarcely any manuscript of the Leiden collection can be considered to contain an authentic original local history of Dĕmak and other Central Pasisir kingdoms. In a way the Universal Histories, Sĕrat Kaṇḍas, mentioned in 22.400 are exceptions. In several cases information on historical facts provided by them may be reliable, being founded on ancient local tradition. However, Sĕrat Kaṇḍas, Books of Tales, are not wholly to be put on a par with histories.

Under the present head some manuscripts containing texts referring to local Central Pasisir history and historical legends are registered. Though written in the nineteenth century they may contain traditional lore of preceding centuries.

23.310 History of Jipaṅ etc., legendary:

cod. 3186.

23.320 History of Kĕṇḍal and Parakan:

cod. 6527.

23.500 Historical literature of West Java and some oversea districts.

In Javanese cultural history West Java occupies a place of less importance than Central and East Java. In the pre-Islamic period the Sundanese kingdom (or kingdoms) of West Java was (were) neither vanquished nor culturally wholly assimilated by Javanese Kings like Madura and Bali. The episode of the history of Majapahit which is described in the Kiduṅ Sunḍa (see 20.720) probably arrested the attention of ballad poets on account of the rarity of the contact of East Javanese courtiers with foreigners from West Java, who came to Majapahit by sea.

In the pre-Islamic period an Old Sundanese kingdom, or Old Sundanese kingdoms, existed. Remnants of Old Sundanese culture are scarce, however. They are inferior to the monuments of Old Balinese culture which have been found in Bali. Dr J. Noorduyn is studying the Old Sundanese language (Carita Parahyaṅan, BKI vol. 118, 1962).

In West Javanese history the introduction of Islam was a revolution of greater importance than in East and Central Java. In the latter districts the old order of things, personified in the Majapahit King, was swept away by the action of middle-class Javanese

insurgents who had become converts to Islam. Many features of pre-Islamic culture remained intact. In West Java Islam was introduced by foreigners, who founded independent Javanese kingdoms on the North Coast, successively Cërbon, Jakarta and Bantën (Sura Sowan). The Old Sundanese kingdom of Pajajaran was overturned and henceforth Sundanese culture was isolated and confined to the mountainous interior of West Java. In the course of time local rulers of Sundanese districts were forced to acknowledge either the Javanese Kings of the North Coast kingdoms, or the Central Javanese Kings of Mataram, as suzerains. Still in the seventeenth century the Dutch East India Company of Batavia, successor of the Jakarta King, began to hold sway over the Sundanese districts. Cërbon and Bantën, though till the end of the eighteenth century semi-independent, were politically eclipsed by Batavia.

In consequence of its isolation in the highlands of West Java, Sundanese culture could preserve several ancient features, and Sundanese local traditions and mythical tales were not forgotten. Though partly Javanized and using the West Javanese idiom in writing, Sundanese local rulers prized their native legendary history and their old genealogies going back to ancient Sundanese forbears. West Javanese literature provides information on indigenous Sundanese mythology and legendary history comparable with the information found in original Sundanese texts.

Probably it was in the last decades of the eighteenth century that Sundanese authors began to write Sundanese again, after a long period of Javanese supremacy in litera-

ture. In the nineteenth and especially in the twentieth century Sundanese literature expanded and flourished, adjusting itself to the environment in the modern cities Bandung and Batavia/Djakarta. Sundanese literature is not discussed in the present Synopsis. Uhlenbeck's "Critical Survey of studies on the languages of Java and Madura" (1964) contains much information on the subject.

West Javanese-Sundanese historical literature exercised a remarkable influence on Central Pasisir letters. A mythic tale ascribing the foundation of the East Javanese capital Majapahit to a prince of the Old Sundanese realm of Pajajaran found its way into Central Pasisir Universal Histories and Mataram Babads. It superseded the historically much more reliable record of the foundation by a prince who (probably) was related to the old House of Kaḍiri. The latter account of the foundation was accepted in the pre-Islamic period. In the Pasisir era, Majapahit had become a mythical concept: it was the residence of the great Kings of yore and the centre of the glorious pre-Islamic civilization. For that reason a tale which stressed the mythic origin of the founder of Majapahit seems to have superseded the historically true account of the foundation of the city.

Under the present head manuscripts containing texts on Cërbon history proper are registered. In the Islamic period Cërbon was the cultural centre of West Java (except Bantën) and a place of pilgrimage for pious believers, like Grësik (Giri) was in East Java. Gunuḍ Jati, near Gërbon, is the place of the grave of the apostle of Islam in West Java and his descendants, who were Sultans.

Unlike Grėsik, Cěrbon never suffered severe hostile attacks. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the Sultans managed to maintain passably good relations with their powerful neighbours, the Dutch East India Company in Batavia and the Central Javanese Kings. Economically the Cěrbon Sultanate was weak, however. There were insufficient means to pay authors and scribes. As a rule Cěrbon manuscripts are in a poor condition.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts are registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Cěrbon* and *Gunur Jati*.

23.510 Cěrbon mythical tale, *Walaŋ Sur-saŋ*, *Wělaŋ Sur-saŋ* :

cod. 6557, 6707, 7376.

23.520 Cěrbon history :

cod. 6203a, no. 27 (KBG Brandes 75a), 6440 (KBG *cod.* 36), 6535 (KBG Brandes 69), 7383 (*Sajarah Cěrbon*), 11.082, AdKIT 1023/2 (Malay paraphrase).

23.530 Cěrbon, Bantěn history by Abdul Kahar :

cod. 7379, 7379a.

23.540 Cěrbon history, mythic beginning, *Ďampu Awaŋ* :

cod. AdKIT 533/1, AdKIT 1023/1.

23.550 Genealogy and history of Cěrbon-Gunur Jati :

cod. 6491, 7509, 7549.

23.560 Babad Talaga, Maja Lěŋka, Cěrbon legendary history :

cod. 5595 (*Raděn Paŋlurah*), CB 141.

23.570 Notes on West Javanese history :

cod. 5631 A.

23.700 Local histories and genealogies of Sundanese districts. In consequence of the position of Cěrbon as

the cultural centre of West Java, Cěrbon Javanese was for a long time the idiom of literature in the Sundanese districts. Indigenous Sundanese mythic tales and genealogies were linked up with Cěrbon tales referring to the introduction of Islam by sunan Gunur Jati. But then, Cěrbon mythical and legendary history, registered under the preceding head, on its part contains some indigenous Sundanese elements. The introduction of a Pajajaran prince as the founder of Majapahit into Central Javanese historical texts has been mentioned before (23.500).

In Cěrbon and the Sundanese districts the wayaŋ theatre and wayaŋ plays developed in the flourishing period of the Pasisir era, as they did in Central and East Java, but in the shapes of the puppets and especially in the names of heroes and heroines there were remarkable differences (see the present author's "Javaanse Volksvertoningen", index, sub voce *Soenda*). Manuscripts containing information on West Javanese wayaŋ mythology are rare. The Kanda codex of West Javanese origin, registered under 23.790, is a poor specimen of the genre of compendiums of epic tales, so well represented in the literature of Central Java.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the Sundanese districts, in addition to Arabic script, West Javanese script was adapted to Sundanese phonetics. In West Javanese texts written by Sundanese authors the same particularities occur. The differences between *đ* and *d*, *ṭ* and *t* are sometimes disregarded.

Under the present head manuscripts containing West Javanese texts on Sundanese mythology and history, and on the genealogy of Sundanese noble families, are registered.

More manuscripts referring to the subject have been listed in the General Index under the catchwords *Sundanese* and *genealogy*.

23.710 Carita Sunḍa, in prose:

cod. 3359 (= 10.695 = BCB prtf 175).

23.720 Sulañjana, Sundanese rice myth:

cod. 7731.

23.730 Pajajaran history, Siliwañi:

cod. 6706, 7571, NBS 336.

23.740 Pañjalu history, Pajajaran:

cod. 7551.

23.750 Genealogies and histories of noble Sundanese families:

cod. 5616, 7399, 7431, 7434, 7437, 7445, 7505, 7539, 7706, 7761, 11.016.

23.760 Sajarah Japura, Pajajaran:

cod. AdKIT 1471/2.

23.770 Ukur history, Mataram charters:

cod. 7858.

23.780 Kitab Pañca Kaki, ancient history, from Sumēdaṅ:

cod. 6499, 7444.

23.790 Kaṇḍa, epic tales, wayaṅ, West Java:

cod. AdKIT 2725/1.

23.800 Notes on eschatology and genealogy, West Java:

cod. 7458, 7708, 7711, 7724.

23.900 Local histories and genealogies of Bañumas districts. In antiquity Sundanese local rulers in the highlands of West Java had connections with local chieftains residing in the hilly districts of the basin of the river Sērayu, which empties itself into the Southern Ocean at Cilacap. In the time of Dutch administration these districts, south of mount Slammat, were united and made into the Residency of Bañumas.

The Bañumas idiom is different from Sundanese, but it also shows some striking differences if compared with the neighbouring Javanese idiom to the East. Culturally the people of Bañumas, forming rather small groups in the hilly region, were influenced by their neighbours on the north and north-west sides, the Tēgal and Cērbon Javanese, and by the powerful Javanese Kings of Central Java, whose authority they were forced to acknowledge.

In pre-Islamic Javanese texts the Bañumas districts are not mentioned. Some chieftains, converted to Islam in the sixteenth century, became founders of local dynasties ruling small isolated dominions in the hills. On account of their isolation and the paucity of their resources they were left alone by the Mataram Kings, and so in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they were, to a certain extent, independent. In some cases the local gentry caused their family traditions and genealogies to be put in writing, and the books were preserved by the following generations. In many other districts of Java local histories and genealogies disappeared in consequence of social decay of the rural gentry, caused by wars and other disturbances. The Bañumas local histories, kept in reasonably good order by members of old families are unique in Javanese historical literature. In this respect they are comparable with the genealogies of Sundanese noble families mentioned under the preceding head, and with the genealogies of Balinese families and with the genealogies of Balinese families and social groups mentioned in 21.200. In the three regions it was the economic and political circumstances which allowed old families

to survive, even though they were not related to Royalty.

Under the present head *Bañumas* histories are collected. References to more manuscripts containing information on the subject are to be found in the General Index under the catchword *Bañumas*. In several respects some local historical legends and genealogies of rulers of Central Javanese districts (*Pacitan* etc.), which are registered under a separate head (24.800), are comparable with the *Bañumas* histories. The latter have been collected under the present head on account of their relationship with Sundanese historical tales and genealogies.

23.910 *Pasir* history, *Purwakërta*, *Bañumas*, in verse:

cod. 2196, 7569.

23.920 *Pasir* history, *Siñḍula*, in prose:

cod. 8992 no. 2 (*Babad Pasir Siñḍula*).

23.930 *Cahyana* mythical history:

cod. 7543.

23.940 *Wirasaba* history, *Bañumas*, in verse:

cod. 6427, 7718, 7469.

23.950 *Bañumas* history, in prose:

cod. 8992 no. 1.

23.960 Genealogies and histories of *Bañumas* families:

cod. 6686 (*Danurëjan*, *Yogyakarta*).

24.100 Local histories and genealogies of *Bantën*. In the sixteenth century the two westernmost districts of Java on the shores of the Java sea, *Jakarta* and *Bantën*, were made into Muslim states by Javanese conquerors coming by sea from *Cërbon*. The district of *Jakarta*, on the river *Ciliwuñ*, belonged to the ancient Sundanese kingdom of *Pajajaran*. In the beginning of

the seventeenth century *Jakarta* was conquered by the Dutch. The rapid expansion of the Dutch East India Company of *Batavia*, which was founded near the site of the Javanese rulers' residence, impressed contemporary and later Javanese authors. They found explanations of the miraculous expansion of Dutch power by composing quasi historical tales, associating the traders from oversea with personages belonging to ancient West Javanese or Sundanese mythology, and so incorporating the foreigners in their indigenous scheme of cosmic and social order. Cannon, the terrific weapon introduced by the foreigners and soon coveted by Javanese rulers, occupied a place of some importance in the tales. So did *Sakèṇḍër* or *Kasèṇḍër*, i.e. Alexander the Great. Persian-Arabic mythic tales of the adventures of the great King who went to foreign countries on a quest for the source of eternal life were introduced into the Archipelago by Indian Muslims.

Evidently Javanese quasi historical tales of the Dutch expansion were not composed until the expansion was a generally accepted fact, at the end of the seventeenth century. The tales are found in Central Javanese histories written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Though containing elements of West Javanese *Pasisir* origin, and probably Sundanese mythology (*Pajajaran*), they are not registered under the present head, because authentic old West Javanese texts are lacking. They are listed under the head early *Mataram* histories (see 26.200). Some West Javanese *Pajajaran* histories mentioned in 23.700 contain references to those tales.

The other West Javanese district which in

the sixteenth century was conquered and made into a Muslim state by Cěrbon Javanese is Bantěn. In the beginning Bantěn flourished as a trading centre. In the seventeenth century it was superseded by its neighbour and rival, Dutch Jakarta-Batavia, and in the eighteenth century it fell into decay. The Bantěn Sultans were orthodox Muslims and at their Court Arabic scholarship was prized. They did not live in the odour of sanctity, however, like their elder relatives the Cěrbon Sultans, nor did they radiate a strong Javanese cultural influence in the Sundanese interior of their country. For the major part the interior of the Bantěn Sultanate remained Sundanese. An old Sundanese community, the Baduy people, living in voluntary isolation according to pre-Islamic ideas on religious and social order, has held out until to-day (see N. J. C. Geise, "Badujs en Moslims in Lěbak "Parahiang, Zuid Bantěn", 1952).

It is worth noticing that the West Javanese Bantěn Court, in the eighteenth century backed by Dutch East India Company officials, held sway over the Lampuŕ districts of South Sumatra, producers of the best pepper in the market. Some eighteenth century Javanese charters issued by Bantěn Sultans for Lampuŕ districts have been registered under the head regulations (48.200).

Under the present head Javanese histories of the Bantěn Sultanate are collected. Some of them have been edited by Professor Hoesein Djajadiningrat, who was a member of a noble Bantěn family, and by Mr. Edel. In the last decades of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century Professor Snouck Hurgonje collected

many manuscripts containing information on all matters concerning Bantěn, the Sunda districts and Cěrbon. References to those manuscripts are to be found in the General Index under the catchword *Bantěn*.

24.110 Sajarah Bantěn, genealogy :

cod. 4818 (genealogy).

24.120 Sajarah Bantěn ranté-ranté, genealogy :

cod. 7388, KITLV Or 267.

24.130 Sajarah Bantěn; major version (I), Sandi Maya - Sandi Sastra :

cod. 6532 (KBG Brandes 296), 7387, 7390, 8605.

24.140 Sajarah Bantěn, minor version (III) :

cod. 1982, 7389, 7570.

24.150 Bantěn legendary history :

cod. 6530 (KBG 183), 7420 (Sajarah haji Mansur).

24.160 Notes on genealogy, Bantěn, Sunda, Waruga Jagat :

cod. 11.014, NBS 239.

24.200 Palémbaŕ history. Javanese cultural and political influence in Central Sumatra dates from the thirteenth century or even before. In the legendary history of the beginning of the Islamic period in East Java, about 1500 A.D., a ruler of Palémbaŕ occupies an important place. Probably there is some truth in the tradition saying that at the time East Javanese and Palémbaŕ Royal families were related. The Palémbaŕ district was converted to Islam in the same period as the trading towns on the North Coast of Java, and they were partners in the interinsular Pasisir culture.

In the eighteenth century Javanese was the Court language in Palémbaŕ. Remnants of Royal regulations from Palémbaŕ are

listed under the head West Pasisir Law (47.600). Manuscripts of Javanese romances, written in Palémbaŋ, are in the collections in Djakarta and in London. The fall of the Palémbaŋ Sultanate in 1825 caused the decline of Javanese cultural activity in the district, but the local idiom of Malay preserves reminiscences of the flourishing period of Javanese Pasisir culture.

Unfortunately Javanese-Palémbaŋ texts on local history are not in evidence. Perhaps in the nineteenth century Malay historical texts written in the local idiom took their place. However this may have been, the existence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of a Javanese-Palémbaŋ literature ought to be mentioned in the present Synopsis.

References to manuscripts providing information on the subject are to be found in the General Index under the catchword *Palémbaŋ*.

24.300 Bañjar Masin history. In Javanese history Bañjar Masin, though situated opposite Central Java on the south coast of Borneo, does not occupy a place of importance. But then, a Bañjar Masin historical text, written in the local Malay idiom, is explicit on the important role played by warlike Javanese in political developments in South Borneo (see A. A. Cense, "De 'Kroniek van Bandjarmasin'", 1928, and the Leiden University thesis of J. J. Ras). The Royal Family of Bañjar Masin venerated a pair of wooden dragon-heads, decorated with wood-carving, heirlooms which were believed to have been brought over from Majapahit by the founder of the dynasty (see Notulen KBG, vol. III, 1865, p. 147).

In the district of Bañjar Masin the local Malay idiom contains many words which are related to Javanese, and Bañjar Masin folklore and customs also are reminiscent of Java.

24.400 Makasar and Bugis history. In the seventeenth century Makasar and Bugis chieftains invaded East Javanese maritime districts and caused a great deal of trouble. As a consequence in Javanese historical texts referring to the period names of South Celebes noblemen, bearing the titles *kraèn* or *daèn*, are repeatedly mentioned. In Javanese romantical literature belonging to the Pañji cycle of tales, sometimes Bugis warriors with particularly sanguineous and ferocious characters enter on the scene. This probably is a reminiscence of the behaviour of the uncultured invaders from Celebes. Even in the pre-Islamic period they may have raided the North Coast districts of Java and Bali. In Javanese literature the sanguineous Bugis princes are called *Klanas*, and in the quadripartite classification of personages of the ancient Javanese masque (*topèn*) theatre the *Klana* has a definite place (see the present author's "Javaanse Volks-*'vertoningen'*", index sub voce *Klana*).

In South Celebes some features of Javanese culture are apparent, especially in the field of religion. Javanese texts, or texts with a considerable admixture of Javanese elements, however, are not in evidence. Nevertheless in the present Synopsis Makasar and Bugis countries are mentioned on account of their historical relations with Java. They close the ring of regions situated around the Java Sea, which in some way or another were participants of the Javanese Pasisir culture.

24.500 Sacred legends and genealogies of Muslim Saints.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries Islam was introduced in Java by Muslim traders and scholars of Further Indian origin. Surabaya, Grèsik and Giri in the eastern districts, and Cërbon in the West were their first footholds. In the religious communities developing as a consequence of their missionary activities, historical and legendary genealogies and biographies of the venerated apostles of the Faith were composed by their descendants and pupils, and transmitted as edifying reading-matter to the pious. The graves of the founders of Islam in Java soon became sacred spots and places of pilgrimage. The guardians' families (in Javanese called *juru kuñcis*, key-keepers), as a rule relatives of the venerated defunct, became officiants of rites. Introducing pilgrims into the sacred precincts, they recieved fees for performing ritual worship (in Javanese called *salawat*, Arabic plural of *ṣalāt*) as substitutes of the pious visitors, and for saying prayers on the occasion of religious community meals (Javanese *slamëtan*). In the circles of guardians of sacred graves the composition of biographies and genealogies of their sainted ancestors, masters and kinsmen probably became a standing occupation.

In Javanese literature the apostles of Islam are called *walis* (Arabic for saints). In the Pasisir period the *wali* cult occupied an important place in Muslim religious practice in conservative pious circles. This remained so up to the twentieth century. Mythology took possession of biographies and genealogies. In accordance with the strong sense of history in Islam, relationship with the Prophet, the source of all wisdom,

was established for many Javanese *walis*, and undeniable historical facts were disregarded and forgotten. Beside the group of great *walis* many minor saints have sacred graves, sometimes centres of local cults, in most districts of Java. Features of pre-Islamic, perhaps ancient indigenous, religious practice survived in the worship at sacred graves and the *wali* cult of the Muslim period of Javanese civilization.

Probably it was already in the seventeenth century that the number of great Javanese *walis* was fixed at eight or nine. Henceforth they were considered as being contemporaries, a kind of Round Table of Saints. The number of eight or nine great *walis* has its counterpart in the number of eight deities, with a ninth one in the centre, forming the octonary group of divine custodians of cosmic Order. In Javanese-Balinese religious literature the deities are called the *Déwata Nawa Saṅa*, the Nine Gods. Some fundamental relation with the Indian religious concept of the *Lokapālas*, the Protectors of the World, is evident (see 14.000 and 14.600).

In historical books of the Pasisir period tales of saints occupy an important place. They are incorporated in the local Pasisir histories which have been discussed under the preceding heads (22.200—24.100). References to saints, their genealogies and legends are to be found in the General Index under the catchwords *wali* and *genealogy*, and under the names of their residences (after which they are always called): *Ḥampèl Dënta* (i.e. *Surabaya*), *Giri*, *Bonan*, *Tuban*, *Kudus*, *Murya*, *Kali Jaga* (residence

or proper name?, uncertain), *Těmbayat*, *Lěmah Aban* (*Siti Jěnar*), *Majagun*, *Gunun Jati* (*Cěrbon*), *Bantěn*. In Part One, Religion, of the present Synopsis, 14.600, texts referring to the legendary Synod of the Saints, deliberating on points of theology connected with mysticism, have been discussed.

Several Javanese *walis* became founders of families of ecclesiastical lords, who, exercising temporal power in their districts, sometimes became Kings. In the Pasisir period their title as a rule was Sunan. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Sunans of Giri (Grěsik), masters of a centre of Pasisir culture, were outstanding representatives of the group of ecclesiastical rulers. As a consequence of a conflict with the Central Javanese Mataram Kings their temporal power was broken and their capital sacked. The Cěrbon family, less brilliant than the Giri dynasty, but better politicians, endured up to the nineteenth century (see 22.200 and 23.500).

Some legends and genealogies of Javanese saints possess features reminding one of pre-Islamic texts on the lives and deeds of holy men of yore, for instance the Pararaton and the Tantu Pangělaran (see 20.400). In some respects genealogies of Balinese families and social groups (see 21.200) also are comparable with Javanese hagiographies written in the Islamic period.

Just like Javanese-Balinese literature, Javanese literature of the early Pasisir period has a number of tales about armourers, miraculous crisses (Javanese poniards, creeses) and lances. In the present Synopsis texts on shapes and marks of those weapons, and on criss divination and magic practices, are re-

gistered in Part Four. In 41.600 the probable connection between the flourishing armourers' art of the Pasisir period, inter-insular commerce, the introduction of Islam and the Javanese *walis* is discussed. Some Javanese armourers' tales seem to point to a relationship between the art of the blacksmith and the wisdom of the Javanese *walis*. In the Pasisir period armourers' legends are found all along the North Coast, from Blambangan in the East up to Cěrbon and Pajajaran in the West, just like the legends about Muslim saints.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in accordance with the concept of dualism in social and cosmic order, Javanese *walis* were considered to constitute one line of descent and one aspect of Javanese Royalty, namely the religious one; Indian gods and Kings belonged to the other line, the heroic, Paŋiwa, the left-hand line. The religious line was called Paněžěn, the right-hand one. According to nineteenth century Central Javanese historical philosophy the two lines of descent, originally separated in the period shortly after Creation, were reunited by Javanese Kings, marrying descendants of Javanese *wali* families, especially from the House of Cěrbon (see 28.600).

Probably in connection with the idea of reunion of Paněžěn and Paŋiwa lines of descent, nineteenth century Surakarta Kings ordered the *wali* tales and genealogies to be collected. The well-known Surakarta scholar Raŋga Warstia wrote a book on *wali* histories. The origin of these tales is sixteenth or seventeenth century tradition.

Dr. Rinkes studied several *wali* legends, and published some Javanese texts ("De Heiligen van Java", i.e. The Saints of Java,

TBG vol. 54).

In Part Four of the present Synopsis, under the head Sacred Graves (48.600) tales of a local character are listed. Some of them also refer to *walis*. Interrelationship of some *wali* legends with the Nitik Sultan Agung tales (26.000) and with historical novellistic literature (31.300) is evident.

24.510 History of the walis, Wali Sana, by Ranga Warsita:

cod. 8606, KITLV Or 388.

24.520 Notes on wali history, genealogy:

cod. 7482, 7732, 7510, 8619, (Kali Jaga, Kajoran), 8600 (KBG CS 114), 8602, 8657 (photo-copies of old manuscripts, folded treebark paper), CB 144.

24.530 Wali legend, Ki Mulak and Ni Mulak:

cod. 8939 no. 2 (Kudus, dogs).

24.540 Sajarah para Wali, Čerbon origin:

cod. 7508.

24.550 Legend of Paṇḍan Araṇ, Těmbayat:

cod. 6203g.

24.560 Legend of Abdul Muhyi of Karaṇ, West Java:

cod. 7540, 8588.

24.570 Legend of sěh Mělaya:

cod. 6537.

24.580 Tuban notes, sunan Bonar:

cod. 8594.

24.590 Sěṇḍar, Đuwur legend:

cod. 11.032.

24.700 Legends and Genealogies of Armourers. In Javanese literature of the Islamic period armourers as a rule are called *ěmpu*, master. In pre-Islamic Javanese literature *ěmpu* was used as a predicate before names of men of a rather high social standing, and also of members of the clergy. The connection between the armourers and the *walis* has been discussed in 24.500 and 41.600.

Manuscripts containing information on the subject are entered in the General Index under the catchwords *criss*, *smith*, *ěmpu*, *iron* and *pamor*. Under the present head texts on the genealogies of well-known Javanese armourers are registered.

24.710 Sajarahipun para ěmpu:

cod. CB 23.

24.720 Sujarah ěmpu tanah Jawa, Ramadi of Měṇḍar, Kamulan:

cod. 6690.

24.730 Miscellaneous notes, Central Java: *cod.* 2310 (Court armourers, and other texts).

24.740 Tale of ěmpu Supa, Sěṇḍar, Sidayu:

cod. 5772.

24.800 Local histories of the inland districts of Central and East Java.

In the pre-Islamic period the interior of Central Java was ruled by local dynasts. Historical information on their residences and dates is scarce. In the twentieth century Dutch scholars, studying Old Javanese charters written on stone slabs and copper-plates, discovered the existence of ancient tenth century kingdoms in the district of Mataram, where Kings had erected the

famous Prambanan and Bara Buḍur temples. The tenth and eleventh centuries were the flourishing period of Old Mataram, in the basins of the rivers Opak and Praga, which empty themselves into the Southern Ocean. After that time East Javanese kingdoms in the basins of the rivers Běḡawan and Brantas became predominant.

In the literary tradition of the Pasisir

period, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, tales about districts in the interior of Central Java make their appearance. Apparently traders from the Pasisir area penetrated into the interior of the country, reaching districts which for centuries had been well-nigh forgotten. In *Universal Histories and Books of Tales*, written in the seventeenth century by scholars of Central North Coast districts, the legendary histories of ancient Kings of kingdoms in the interior of the country (Ratu Baka, Banduṅ, Lĕmbu Amiluhur and his family) were incorporated. Myths of native origin and vague memories of ancient ancestors are inextricably mixed up in those tales. They are almost without value for historians.

Beside scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, writing *Universal Histories* and compendiums of tales, some modern Javanese authors also put local histories and legends into writing. Sometimes the authors, being natives of the districts and interested in local history, reproduced tales transmitted orally from olden times. In many cases, however, modern nineteenth and twentieth century Javanese tales on local history appear to have prototypes in older *Universal Histories*.

Under the present head some manuscripts containing independent local histories and legends are collected. Some of them are comparable with local legends registered in

Part Four of the Present Synopsis (48.500) and with *wali* legends (24.500). Bañumas historical legends and genealogies have been listed under a separate head (23.900) on account of their relationship with Sundanese tales. In several respects, however, Bañumas legends are also comparable with the Central Javanese tales.

References to manuscripts containing relevant texts are to be found in the General Index under the catchword *legends*.

24.810 Local history, Pacitan, baṭara Katoṅ, Panaraga:

cod. 8991 no. 2, 10.839, 10.840.

24.820 Pacalan history, charter, Magĕtan:

cod. 8993 no. 4.

24.830 Notes on local history and legends, Central Java, compendiums:

cod. 8563, 8991 no. 1.

24.840 Babad Paṭi, Central Java:

cod. 8615, 10.807.

24.850 Taṅguṅ, Luwanu (Bagĕlĕn) tales:

cod. 6446 (genealogy, and other texts).

24.860 Babad Tuyuhan (Lasĕm, Grobogan, Blora):

cod. 8993 no. 1.

24.870 Babad Trĕngalĕk:

cod. 8991 no. 3.

24.880 Babad Kaḍiri:

cod. 3185.

24.890 Notes on history and genealogy, East Java (Malaṅ, Bañil):

cod. CB 145 (1) E.

25.000 Javanese Rice Myths.

In the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Islam became the professed religion of Java, superseding pre-Muslim religious rites of Indian origin. But then,

the majority of Javanese being agriculturists, myths and rites pertaining to agriculture, especially the culture of rice, were not forgotten. In pre-Islamic literature (Tantu

Pangĕlaran), rice myths are in evidence, and in the pre-Islamic period in the countryside no doubt the rice goddess was worshipped with some rites. In Javanese-Balinese literature some rice myths are mentioned. Universal Histories and Books of Tales of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (see 22.900 and 23.100) contain rice myths, and the Watu Gunuṅ myth, which probably refers to rice culture, was given a place in the beginning of the Major History of Central Javanese Kings, written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the Islamic period the rice goddess, or chthonic goddess, is known under the name Dèwi Sri, and her male companion is called Sēdana. The names, of Indian origin (Śrī and Sādhana), are reminiscent of Wiṣṇuism. That is a weak foundation, however, for the supposition of an Indian origin of the whole myth. The probability is for a theory supposing a blending of an original native Javanese rice myth with an Indian Wiṣṇuite concept, effectuated in an early pre-Islamic period. The Indian names Śrī and Sādhana superseded ancient indigenous names, which in the course of time were forgotten.

Under the present head texts of the early Islamic period, with reference to rice and agricultural myths, are listed. These texts are difficult to locate. Probably they belong to Central and East Java. In West Java, the Sunda districts, another rice myth, Sulañjana, is in evidence (see 23.720, and K. A. H. Hidding. "Nji Pohatji Sangjang Sri", 1929). According to a Javanese tradition noted by C. F. Winter in Surakarta, the Manik Maya, the best known text of this group, was written by Karta Mursadah, who lived in the Kartasura period, at the end of

the seventeenth century or in the first decades of the eighteenth century. Poerbatjaraka's supposition ("Kapustakan Djawi", 1952, p. 119), founded only on the form of the name Mursadah, that the author was a Sundanese gentleman, seems improbable. His opinion on the close relationship between the Manik Maya and the Tantu Pangelaran is very much open to question.

Mythologic Sērat Kaṇḍas, including Aji Saka tales, have been registered separately under 23.100, on account of their relationship with Royalty and the origin of Javanese kingdoms. The present rice myths, however, seem to belong in the sphere of common agriculturists.

Manuscripts containing information on the subject are listed in the General Index under the catchwords *rice*, *Sri*, *Sēdana*, *Manik*, *Watu Gunuṅ*. In Part Four of the present Synopsis the probable connection of the Watu Gunuṅ myth, the *wukus* and rice culture will be discussed (see 41.750). One Manik Maya text was edited by de Hollander, 1852, and reprinted in 1865. In the nineteenth century a prose version was made by Karta Praja for teaching purposes in The Netherlands.

25.010 Manik Maya, in verse:

cod. 1858, 2032, 2034, 2101, 8554, NBS 12, NBS 74, NBS 206.

25.020 Manik Maya, prose version by Karta Praja:

cod. 2231, NBS 13, NBS 76, NBS 105, NBS 374.

25.030 Sri Sēdana rice myth:

cod. 8915, 8934, Nst 12 (= BCB prtf 46).

25.040 Watu Gunuṅ myth:

cod. 6466, 6528.

25.200 Prophecies and Messianic Expectations.

Javanese political history of the Islamic period, from the sixteenth century onward, was particularly tumultuous. After the collapse of Majapahit several kingdoms succeeded one another. The Central Javanese dynasty of Mataram which emerged as winner from the contest went through many wars of succession. In the second half of the eighteenth century there began to develop some kind of order, entailing a division of the Mataram dominions into two kingdoms, Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Still unrest and internal wars were never wholly absent in Central Java until finally after the defeat of Dipa Nagara, in 1830, Dutch authority was acknowledged completely and the pax Neerlandica imposed.

Almost three centuries of unrest and incidental wars had made life in the Javanese country-side precarious. People in dire distress, despairing of immediate relief and redress of wrongs, put their hope of better days on a righteous King coming to rule over them in an indefinite future, setting right what seemed wrong in the world.

Messianic expectations belong to the religious tradition of Islam. No doubt in the Pasisir period belief in the advent of the righteous King, in Arabic called the Mahdi, was introduced into Java. Closely connected with eschatology, Messianic expectations were given expression in texts on the Day of Judgment, commonly called *Kabar Kiyamat*. In the First Part, Religion, of the present Synopsis, *Kabar Kiyamat* texts have been discussed (see 16.200).

There is some reason to believe, however, that even in the pre-Islamic period expect-

tations of a Messianic character were entertained in some religious communities in Java. Indian, especially Buddhist, ideas about the periods of development of the world and the end of history, may have been current in some scholarly circles (see the present author's "Java in the XIVth Century", vol. IV, p. 130, on the connection between Eru Cakra, a name for the righteous King, and Wairocana, a Buddhist Jina). It is even possible that ancient indigenous religious speculation on the course of history coalesced with ideas of foreign origin.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a peculiar kind of Messianic texts, in the form of prophecies of coming events and future kingdoms, became popular all over Java. They were called *Pralamban*, *Jaya Baya*, after a King of Kaḍiri, belonging to the pre-Islamic period. In Old Javanese literature as yet no prototype of eighteenth century *Jaya Baya* prophecies has been found. So the connection with the pre-Islamic Kaḍiri kingdom is not yet accounted for. King *Jaya Baya*'s appearance in eighteenth and nineteenth century Javanese prophecies may have been a result of the study of the twelfth century Old Javanese *Bhārata Yuddha kakawin*. The poet, mpu Panuluh, extolled his patron King *Jaya Baya* as a wise ruler (see 30.100 on the *Bhārata Yuddha*).

The *Pralamban*, *Jaya Baya* texts refer to the political history of Java. Islamic religious Messianic expectations characteristic for the *Kabar Kiyamat* texts exercised some influence on the authors, however, and in some cases a merging of elements is apparent.

Generally speaking, Jaya Baya is a personage of popular Javanese historical literature, whereas Kabar Kiyamat texts belong to the sphere of religious communities.

Referring to coming political events in a near future, and mentioning dates, Jaya Baya prophecies published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were several times superseded by the facts of history: at the date mentioned in the text nothing happened. That did not stand in the way of authors: new prophecies referring to a later date were published and probably as readily believed by a credulous public as the preceding ones.

Dr Brandes studied the Pralambaꦁ Jaya Baya literature from a historian's point of view (TBG vol. 32, 1889). An earlier paper on the subject was published by Wiselius (BKI, 1872). Texts referring to Jaya Baya are incorporated in many books of notes and compendiums. They are registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Jaya*

Baya, *ajar's dishes*, *prophecies*. Under the present head some collections of Jaya Baya texts made in the nineteenth century by Dutch scholars are listed together.

25.210 Jaya Baya prophecies in verse and in prose:

cod. 1856, 2044, 5591, 5789 b, 7492, 8622 b, KITLV Or 230.

25.220 Notes on prophecies, Jaya Baya, copies:

cod. NBS 87-VIII (= 10.732 = BCB prtf 214).

25.230 Jaꦁka Pralambaꦁ Nagari, Jaya Baya prophecies:

cod. 6395.

25.240 Jaya Baya prophecies, Eru Cakra:

cod. 7951.

25.250 Notes on Jaꦁka, Jaya Baya prophecies, by Cakra Nagara:

cod. 8607.

25.260 Prophecies Sĕmar-Togog:

cod. 8622 a.

25.400 Historical Chronograms.

Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese historical texts (see 20.400 and 20.500) sometimes contain chronological data. The years are indicated by means of chronograms consisting of (mostly) Sanskrit words which have numeral connotations (see 46.350). Probably in the pre-Islamic period scholars used to make lists of chronograms referring to memorable events. Parts of the Pararaton and the Nāgara Kĕrtāgama seem to be based on such lists. Separate tables of dates couched in chronograms are scarce in Old Javanese literature, however. A list of years of issue of the great epic poems, called Wawatĕkan iꦁ Kakawin, is an exception.

It has been listed in Part Four, Scholarship (46.450), of the present Synopsis.

In the Javanese literature of the Islamic period dates and chronograms appear more frequently than before. Henceforward the chronograms are called *saꦁkalas*. Scribes of texts of any importance made a point of noting the exact date and even the hour of the beginning of their work. Probably such a painstaking care is connected with divination and the belief in the importance of choosing an auspicious time to begin. Unfortunately dates of the authors of important texts are not transmitted by later scribes with the same care. So in many cases

dated manuscripts only provide dates *ante quem* with reference to the original composition of the text.

It seems probable that in the Pasisir period the custom of exactly dating their copies, prevailing with writers of Arabic books, prompted Javanese scribes to follow them. It is remarkable, however, that as a rule years of the Hiġra era are not indicated by means of chronograms, but in plain words or in figures. Evidently chronograms, being associated with pre-Islamic mythology and religious lore (the numeral connotations of Sanskrit words), were deemed unsuitable to indicate years of the era of Islam. The Javanese calendar which, like the Indian śaka era, begins its numbering of solar years in 78 A.D., switched over to lunar years in 1625 A.D., in accordance with Muslim usage. This is a remarkable example of the amalgamation of elements of different origin in Javanese culture (see 00120).

Probably in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries interest in the tumultuous political history of the time prompted Javanese authors belonging to Muslim religious circles to make lists of chronograms referring to memorable events. Several books of notes and compendiums contain such lists. In many cases they contain valuable information on local political history; unfortunately, statements of events which occurred in the indicated years sometimes are so concise as to be almost unintelligible.

Many lists of chronograms begin with a paragraph on the Kēṇḍēṇ hills in the North East Pasisir region and on Aji Saka, as starting-points of Javanese history. In that case relationship with Universal Histories and Books of Tales of the Central and East

Pasisir districts (see 22.900 and 23.100) is most probable.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in Surakarta and in Yogyakarta, *saṅkala* lists continued to be composed, as sequences to older lists, sometimes provided with amplifications. Great Histories of the Central Javanese Kings, in Javanese called *babads*, were written in that period; probably the authors of these books had lists of chronograms at their disposal. Neither the older Universal Histories nor the *babads* of the Mataram dynasty should be considered merely as results of amplifying statements of *saṅkala* lists. Probably in Javanese literature, especially in the Islamic period, but also earlier, a (more exact) tradition of chronograms and a (more elaborate) tradition of tales on mythology and history coexisted. They exercised influence one upon the other.

In the nineteenth century, in the period of the Renaissance of Javanese literature, the last great author, Ranga Warsita of Surakarta, composed a new Universal History, called *Pustaka Raja*, the Book of Kings. With a strong sense of chronologic order, Ranga Warsita worked out a system of mythologic history partly of his own invention, and composed elaborate lists of chronograms referring to events told in his books. There is no strict concordance between Ranga Warsita's chronograms and tales on the one hand and the older ones, belonging to seventeenth and eighteenth century Books of Tales, on the other. Ranga Warsita's pseudo historical works will be discussed separately (28.400).

In Yogyakarta, also in the middle of the nineteenth century, paṅéran Surya Nagara,

related to the Pakualaman House, published chronograms referring to the history of Javanese kingdoms, collected under the name Babad Momana. Paku Alaman, Yogyakarta, historiography is listed under 28.000.

Under the present head lists of chronograms referring to history, composed in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, have been collected. More manuscripts containing relevant texts are registered in the General Index under the catchword *saṅkala*.

In the early and middle nineteenth century some Javanese lists of chronograms were translated in English and Dutch books on Javanese history (Sir Stamford Raffles,

Hageman). The valuable information contained in those lists must be sifted out with a keen critical sense.

25.410 Saṅkala lists beginning with the Kēṇḍēṅ hills:

cod. 1859, 4097, 6401, NBS 87 no. 13 (= 10.734 = BCB prtf 214), NBS 135, NBS 184, DFT S 240/280 - 100, 101, KITLV Or 14.

25.420 Saṅkala list, old Dutch translation: *cod.* DFT S 240/280 - 34.

25.430 Notes on historical chronograms, Raṅga Warsita style: *cod.* 4096, 6392, 6400.

25.440 Babad Saṅkala niṅ Momana, Surya Nagara, Yogyakarta: *cod.* 8560, 8989, KITLV Or 257.

25.600 Historical literature of the inland Kingdoms of Central Java: Mataram and its successors.*

In the last decades of the sixteenth century the Dēmak kingdom, which was situated in the Central North Coast districts (see 22.900) was conquered by inland rulers, first from Pajaṅ, afterwards from Mataram. The change in the balance of power was momentous. From the seventeenth century onward Javanese culture developed as the culture of an inland country. The once brilliant Pasisir culture declined. Some elements were incorporated in the younger Mataram culture, others vegetated for a long time in

the old centres on the North Coast, like Cērbon.

Seen from the point of view of eighteenth and nineteenth century Surakarta scholars, Central Java, after the conversion to Islam, was controlled by Kings belonging to three dynasties, ruling one after the other: Dēmak, Pajaṅ and Mataram. In Javanese literature political history always was dynastic history. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, political power in the Central Javanese kingdoms was centralized in the hands of the Surakarta (and Yogyakarta) Kings who were backed by Dutch authority. As a consequence Javanese historians of the time viewed history of the three preceding kingdoms as a continuity and a preparation for the greatness of the Central Javanese dynasty. They did not sufficiently take into

* In the following paragraphs (25.600—29.420) historical texts belonging to Era **D** of Javanese cultural history, the period of the Central Javanese renaissance of classical literature, (see 00020), are discussed. The literary idiom is modern Javanese (see 00030, group 5).

consideration the wars fought by contending dynasts in Central and East Java and the internal troubles in the Royal dominions, which caused a delay of many years or even some decades every time a King, having won authority in the country during his life-time, died. Without the backing of the Dutch East India Company the Central Javanese dynasty would probably not have survived as long as it did. Eventually the centre of authority might have shifted again to East Java.

In several preceding paragraphs (22.200-24.800) local histories of many districts of Java have been mentioned. Probably these local histories seemed of little interest to eighteenth century scholars of the Central Javanese Courts, because of their irrelevancy to Central Javanese dynastic greatness. In some cases episodes which seemed not wholly irrelevant were incorporated in the major babads, however. Many local histories mentioned in the preceding paragraphs may have been wholly unknown to eighteenth and nineteenth century Central Javanese Court scholars, due to difficulties of communication.

Measured by modern standards of cultural, social and economic historiography, eighteenth and nineteenth century Javanese dynastic histories are disappointing. The historical information provided is not always trustworthy because authors of texts were biased in favour of ancestors of the King under whose protection they were living. Therefore examination of local histories is extremely useful: it throws new light on the history of the Central Javanese dynasty.

Under the present head historical texts referring to the reigns of Dĕmak, Pajaŋ

and Mataram Kings before Sultan Agung (first decades of the seventeenth century) are registered. Probably the majority of the texts was written in the eighteenth or the nineteenth century, at the time of the Surakarta and Yogyakarta Kings. Nevertheless it seems possible that Dĕmak, Pajaŋ and early Mataram babads contain information of some importance for local history, based on ancient local tradition. As to Dĕmak history, collation of babads Dĕmak of the kind listed under the present head with the final chapters of the Central Pasisir Universal History mentioned in 22.900 might be fruitful.

In the Major History of Central Javanese Kings, composed in Surakarta in the last decades of the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century, histories of preceding dynasties were incorporated. Collation of introductory chapters of those Major Histories with babads Dĕmak and Pajaŋ might be interesting for historians.

Manuscripts containing texts on the subject are registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Dĕmak*, *Tiŋkir*, *Pajaŋ*, *Sĕnapati*, *Mataram*.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries several Javanese historical texts were published under the name Babad. The Babad Pajaŋ, published in Surakarta in 1871, was one of the first. In several Dutch articles and books Dr. H. de Graaf has tried to reconstruct the course of history. He has collated Javanese historical texts with notes on Javanese history found in Portuguese and Dutch books on the beginning of West European trade to South Asia.

25.610 Histories of pre-Mataram kingdoms, beginning with mythology:

cod. 2100 (Yogyakarta), 4099, 8933 (Yogyakarta), NBS 163, NBS 224, NBS 230, KITLV Or 11.

25.620 Histories of pre-Mataram kingdoms, beginning in the Majapahit period:

cod. 2113 (Dĕmak), 5768, 6243 (= 10.701), 6377, 6631, NBS 323, AdKIT 1504/1.

25.630 Dĕmak history:

cod. 6302 h.

25.640 Pajaꦁ history:

cod. 6708, NBS 235.

25.800 *Mataram Histories*. During the reigns of Sultan Agung Añakra Kusuma and his son Maꦁku Rat I, occupying the greater part of the seventeenth century, the Central Javanese kingdom had its greatest expansion. All dynasts of inland and Pasisir kingdoms, except Batavia and Bantĕn in West Java, acknowledged the authority of the Kings of Mataram. The flourishing culture of Central and East Pasisir towns declined. At the Court of the Mataram King, near the present town of Yogyakarta, neither authors nor artisans were as yet up to the standard of their predecessors, servants of the Dĕmak and other Pasisir Kings. Still some historical texts were written. The eventful reign of Sultan Agung prompted authors to make notes on contemporary history, and perhaps on the King's express command, a text on his exploits was written which afterwards, in the Surakarta period, was incorporated in the Major History of Mataram Kings.

Under the present head some inter-related texts dealing with seventeenth century Mataram history are mentioned. They were written at a later time; it is difficult to ascertain their relationship with contempo-

aneous historiography. In the General Index, manuscripts containing information on the subject are registered under the catchwords *Mataram* and *Sultan Agung*. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries local publishers published some Javanese Mataram histories; the first was an edition of 1872.

25.810 Babad Mataram-Kartasura:

cod. 4100, 4914, 4945, 5538, 6408 a - b - c (Suryanigrat, Paku Alaman, Yogyakarta), 8501, 8503.

25.820 Babad Mataram-Kartasura (Bañumas copy):

cod. DFT S 240/280 13, 14.

25.830 Babad Mataram, Maꦁku Rat:

cod. AdKIT 555/12 (East Java copy).

25.840 Babad Pajajaran-Mataram:

cod. 1867 I-II, 2004, 2291, 3182.

26.000 *Nitik, Inside Stories*. In Javanese popular belief and in popular literature, Sultan Agung Añakra Kusuma of Mataram was the last of the great mythic Kings, whose lives and miraculous exploits were the subjects of tales connecting them with the spirits and the ancestors. Sultan Agung was credited with supernatural powers. The tale of his intercourse with the goddess of the Southern Ocean, Ratu Lara Kidul, is particularly interesting as evidence of the survival of pre-Islamic indigenous religious concepts in the seventeenth century. In Javanese literature Sultan Agung's grandfather Panĕmbahan Sĕnapati, the founder of the dynasty, is distinguished by miraculous tales in the same way. Only in the case of the great Sultan, the most powerful King of the House of Mataram, admiration and religious awe of contemporaries and a later generation brought about a cycle of myths. In a way

his descendants the later Kings participated in the glory of the great man, but in the estimation of the Javanese people there was nobody who ever equalled him.

Perhaps even during Sultan Agung's life, or shortly after his death, myth began to crystallize. The region where he lived and died, the present district of Yogyakarta, was probably where the story-telling started. At first orally transmitted, the miraculous tales were collected and put in writing in the eighteenth century. Belonging to popular literature, sometimes verging on folk-tales, Sultan Agung legends were never prized highly by scholars, least of all by Court scholars of Surakarta who lived outside the region where the myth originated. The collection was called Panitik (abbreviated Nitik), Scrutiny, a name intimating knowledge of esoteric secrets pertaining to the great man's life and exploits, not mentioned in common babads.

On the one hand, the Nitik Sultan Agung tales are comparable with *wali* legends (see 24.500). Islam and popular concepts of Mecca and the Prophet occupy an important place. On the other hand, indigenous Javanese mythical concepts also are in evidence. Juru Taman, the Master of Lands, seems to be related to the *panakawans*, wizard-like mentors, cunning servants and tutelary spirits of ancient Java, appearing in wayan mythology.

In Javanese cultural history, especially in the pre-Islamic period (Erlangga of Kahuripan, Jaya Baya of Kaḍiri), myths crystallizing around historical personages are not scarce. The Nitik Sultan Agung tales are remarkable examples of myths developing in a popular Muslim sphere. In that respect

they are comparable with some popular Bantèn tales about succession troubles in the Sultan's family (see 24.150, Sajarah haji Mansur). The Bantèn tales did not crystallize into a well-known literary work, however. Another comparable cycle of pseudo-historical tales with a mythic foundation is found in the Baron Sakèṇḍèr (Alexander) book, which refers to the appearance of Dutch traders in Java. It will be discussed under the next head.

Under a separate head in Part One, Religion (15.200) a kind of narrative didactic tales (Cabolèk etc.) has been registered, which show some interrelationship with the Nitik tales. Probably both kinds were written and read in circles of popular men of religion, not held in high esteem at Court.

Sometimes the name Nitik or Panitik, Scrutiny of secrets, was also given to texts not referring to political history but to personages belonging to epic or romantic literature, the Pāṇḍawas, Pañji etc. The esoteric significance of these personages in the frame of religious speculation or in another frame is expounded in the texts in question. Though in a way also comparable with the Nitik Sultan Agung and Baron Sakèṇḍèr tales, they have been listed in the present Synopsis in Part One, Religion.

Manuscripts containing information on the subject have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Nitik*, *Sultan Agung*, and *Juru Taman*.

26.010 Nitik Sultan Agung, with Mur Jarḡun, Batavia, tales:

cod. 6476, 8559.

26.020 Sultan Agung tales, compendium, notes:

cod. 8609 a, b, c; 8990 no. 1.

26.030 Nitik Sultan Agung tales, by Candra Nagara, Yogyakarta :

cod. 6489 a, b.

26.040 Nitik Sunan Maṅkurat Agung, called Cabolèk, Yogyakarta :

cod. 10.841.

26.050 Sĕrat Pagĕḍoṅan, by Marta Arjana, Surakarta :

cod. 8990 no. 2.

26.200 Pseudo History, Baron Sakèṇḍĕr. The remarkable Baron Sakèṇḍĕr tales, referring to the beginning of Dutch relations with Java, are based on myth. Sakèṇḍĕr, sometimes called Kasèṇḍĕr, is Alexander the Great. Through the intermediary of Persian-Arabic literature Alexander (in Arabic called Iskandar) tales were spread all over the world of Islam. In Malay and also in Javanese literature Iskandar romances, closely related to Persian-Arabic prototypes, are known. The Javanese Iskandar romance has been registered in the present Synopsis in Part Three, Belles-Lettres (31.065).

The Sakèṇḍĕr tales are different. They seem to be a blend of the old mythic concept of the quest for the spring of life, represented by the Iskandar romance, with indigenous Javanese religious ideas on fundamental dualism in cosmic and social Order. The relation between Javanese Kings and Dutch traders was considered another instance of this dualism perfectly fitting in eternal Order (cf. 20.300, Korawāsrama, and 30.570, Johar Sah).

Baron Sakèṇḍĕr tales are found in several Javanese historical works. Perhaps they were current already in the Pasisir period, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Sĕpañol people are mentioned; in the eighteenth century Spain did not occupy a place of any importance in Javanese history. The best known Central Javanese text is said to be the work of an author of the Mataram era, in the seventeenth century. Naturally the book attracted the attention of Dutch scholars studying Javanese literature. It was published and translated into Dutch by Dr. Cohen Stuart (1851). The present author published a paper, dealing with the mythic foundation of the tale (Djawa, vol. 7, 1927).

The predicate Baron is as yet unexplained. Connection with the West European title of nobility seems improbable, because of the great distance in space and social outlook between sixteenth and seventeenth century Javanese authors and the Dutch traders they knew on the one side, and nobility (at the time in the Netherlands almost extinct) on the other. Perhaps Baron is connected with *baru*, which in Old Javanese texts seems to indicate a member of an ancient, pre-Islamic group of men of religion. If that is the correct explanation of the predicate Baron, its use in connection with Sakèṇḍĕr-Alexander is an indication of the relationship between the mythic hero of the tale and Old Javanese religious concepts, still remembered, though vaguely, in the circles of sixteenth and seventeenth century Javanese authors (see Gen. Index : Baru Kliṇṭiṅ).

In Javanese popular historical literature, beside the Baron Sakèṇḍĕr tales, other tales about the beginnings of Dutch settlements in West Java are found, e.g. the tale of the princess with the fiery womb. These tales have also mythic foundations. In many cases they are told as explanations of the origin of various groups or families: the tales are

old, the groups or families to which the story is applied vary.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Baron*, *Sakèndèr*, *Kasèndèr* and *Dutch*.

26.210 Baron Sakèndèr pseudo-history:
cod. 1800, 6185.

26.400 Post-Mataram Histories.

In 1677 A.D. Sultan Agung's son and successor Mañkurat I was dislodged from his residence by a Madurese insurgent, Truna Jaya, and a few years later his grandson Mañkurat II was reinstated by the Dutch East India Company's forces. Henceforth the rule of the Mataram Kings over their dominions was only stable in so far as they were backed by Dutch authority. The last decades of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century were full of unrest and wars of succession in Central and East Java. Several times the Kings changed their residence. Mañkurat II moved to Kartasura.

During Sultan Agung's reign Javanese Pasisir literature, especially of the religious, edifying and didactic kind, was introduced into the Royal residence in the interior of Central Java. Some original texts seem to have been written in Mataram in that period. During the following reigns political unrest and economic distress were hindrances to cultural development. Central Javanese literature could not recover until the second half of the eighteenth century, the period of the classical renaissance.

The political history of Central Java of the last decades of the seventeenth century

and the beginning of the eighteenth century is confused. Javanese historical texts are not very clear. The Major Histories of Mataram Kings which were written in Surakarta are less explicit on this period than on Sultan Agung's reign and on their own time. Using Dutch reports and notes of contemporaries, Dutch historians have successfully tried to reconstruct that part of Javanese history (see Dr. H. J. de Graaf, "Geschiedenis van Indonesië", 1949).

In many cases Javanese texts dealing with the history of Mataram Kings are overlapping. Several reigns are described as a sequence. Javanese historians of the Surakarta period were much in favour of encyclopedic books of many volumes. With regard to a given historical text it is often difficult to decide whether originally it was written as an independent, separate book or as a part of an encyclopedic work consisting of many volumes. Javanese historical texts on the Truna Jaya episode are mostly found in books called Babad Mataram and Babad Kartasura, after the preceding and the following period.

Under the present head some historical texts dealing with the Truna Jaya episode in particular have been collected. Manuscripts containing information on the subject are listed in the General Index under the catchwords *Truna Jaya* and *Madura*.

26.410 Babad Truna Jaya:

cod. NBS 26, NBS 27 (Major History).

26.420 Babad Mataram-Kartasura:

cod. 6783 (Madura), Nst 7 (East Java).

26.600 Kartasura Histories.

During a period of less than seventy years Kartasura, the Royal residence in the old

district of Pajan, had four or five Kings. It was the scene of many disturbances; a Dutch captain was openly killed by a Balinese adventurer, named Surapati, a favourite of the King. In the end Kartasura was overrun by Chinese banditti; Madurese forces were called in to chase them. In 1743 A.D. King Paku Buwana II moved from Kartasura, defiled by foreign invasions, to Surakarta.

Episodes of Kartasura history such as the exploits of Surapati and the Chinese troubles (in Javanese called Pacina) were described in historical texts forming part of Major Histories of Javanese Kings. Probably Kartasura already saw a beginning of the classical renaissance of Javanese literature, which in the second half of the eighteenth century developed in Surakarta.

The adventurous Surapati, of Balinese origin, has been very much in the public eye, on account of his spectacular career. Beginning as a slave in Batavia, he ended as a ruler of a semi-independent dominion in East Java. His life and exploits are the subject of several texts, written in different places. In East Java, where he became the founder of a dynasty of local rulers in Pasuruhan, his fame was great. He was a contemporary of the North Bali prince Pañji Sakti, who invaded the old district of Blambangan in East Java. Pañji Sakti is a hero of Javanese-Balinese *Bulèlèr*, local history (see 20.930). Balinese hegemony in the "Eastern Corner" districts was destroyed between 1760 and 1770 by combined Madurese and Dutch expeditions.

Under the present head historical texts especially concerned with the Kartasura period have been collected. As usual they

overlap the previous and succeeding periods.

Manuscripts containing information on the subject have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Kartasura*, *Surapati*, *Pacina*. Javanese Babads Kartasura and Pacina were published in Java about 1870. The Babad Tanah Jawi published in Sēmarang, 1885-1890, gives a detailed account of Kartasura history.

26.610 Kartasura history:

cod. 1829, 5545, 8775, 8932.

26.620 Surapati history, East Javanese origin:

cod. 3704 (= 4098 = 10.624 = BCB prtf 74), Nst 9, KNAW 240.

26.630 Kartasura, Surapati, Pacinan histories:

cod. NBS 28, KITLV Or 259, CB 143.

26.640 Major Kartasura History, Babad Sajarah Naréndra:

cod. 6562 (6 volumes, KBG coll. Brandes 87).

26.650 Mataram-Kartasura history, East Javanese origin:

cod. KITLV Or 12.

26.800 *Post-Kartasura Histories*. After the death of King Paku Buwana II of Surakarta in 1749, a long war of succession began. In the end, at the suggestion of the Dutch governor of Semarang, the dominions of the Mataram King were divided between three pretenders. By the treaty of Giyanti of 1755 the Susuhunan of Surakarta and the Sultan of Yogyakarta were made Kings of equal rank, and by the treaty of Salatiga of 1757 *pañéran Mañku Nagara* of Surakarta was acknowledged as an independent ruler, but lower in rank than the Susuhunan. In Javanese this critical episode

of Central Javanese political history is called Paliyan Nagari, Division of the Realm.

In the course of the second half of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century art and literature developed in Surakarta and Yogyakarta on different lines. Surakarta enjoyed a long period of almost unbroken peace. In the field of literature a classical renaissance flourished and important books were written (see 00020, the fourth era). The political history of Yogyakarta was troubled by two episodes of war: during the British interregnum 1811-1814, and as a consequence of the Dipa Nagara insurrection, 1825-1830. In Yogyakarta, literature did not develop as well as it did in Surakarta. Specific Yogyakarta and Surakarta literary texts are mentioned separately in the present Synopsis.

Of course the critical episode of the Division of the Realm in 1755 is described by several Javanese authors. In Javanese the texts are called Babad Giyanti or Babad Maṅkubumèn. The best known Babad Giyanti was probably written in the beginning of the nineteenth century by the great Surakarta author Yasadipura the Elder. It forms the conclusion of his History of Mataram Kings, known under the name of Major Babad (see 27.000). In Yogyakarta in the same period also historical texts on the origin of the Sultanate were written. They were called by preference Babad Maṅkubumèn, Maṅku Bumi being the name of the first Sultan when still a prince. The people's veneration for the founder of the local dynastiy is voiced in these texts.

Under the present head Babad Giyanti and Babad Maṅkubumèn texts have been collected. More manuscripts containing in-

formation on the subject have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Giyanti*, *Maṅku Bumi* and *Yogyakarta*. Yasadipura's Babad Giyanti was published for the first time in Yogyakarta, 1885-1892. In the twentieth century the book was reprinted by the "Volkslektuur" publishing office, Batavia.

26.810 Babad Giyanti, Yasadipura, Surakarta:

cod. NBS 29-33 (= NBS 34).

26.820 Babad Paliyan Nagari, Surakarta:

cod. 4091.

26.830 Babad Giyanti, Maṅkubumèn, Yogyakarta origin:

cod. 8556, NBS 35.

26.840 Babad Paliyan Nagari, Yogyakarta:

cod. KITLV Or 392.

27.000 General Histories of the Mataram Dynasty, Surakarta. Connected with the development of a classical renaissance in literature (see 00020, the fourth era) in the last decades of the eighteenth century is the appearance of encyclopedical works meant to be collections of knowledge of all things and events of the past. The period of peace enjoyed in Surakarta, the ensuing prosperity and the contact with sympathizing Dutch scholars (Gericke, Winter, Wilkens) brought about a memorable interest in literature in Court circles.

In the field of political history babads beginning with Adam up to the times of the authors were written. Always the greatness of the Mataram Kings was in the authors' minds. Local histories of Pasisir kingdoms of the past which they happened to come across were only incorporated in the major

babads in so far as the events seemed to be of consequence for the Mataram history.

In some respects the early nineteenth century Major Babads of Surakarta are comparable with Universal Histories and Books of Tales, *Sĕrat Kaṇḍas*, belonging to the Pasisir literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see 22.900). Both had the intention of providing encyclopedic knowledge of the whole of human history. But then, in the older Pasisir literature, ancient mythology, pre-Islamic legendary tales and Islam occupied a more important place than the political history of their own times. Moreover, Pasisir scholars, being residents of maritime and mercantile towns, seem to show more interest in foreign parts and distant districts of Java than Surakarta authors, natives of the interior of the country, usually do. On the other hand, nineteenth century historiography, though still restricted to dynastic history, seems to be more scholarly than the older Universal Histories.

In the late nineteenth century a Surakarta scholar wrote an encyclopedic book including the whole of mythic and epic history: the *Pustaka Raja*, the Book of Kings. It will be discussed separately (28.400).

The best known Major Babad of Surakarta literature was written by Yasadipura the Elder, in the first decades of the nineteenth century. The Babad Giyanti (see 26.800) formed the conclusion of the book. Comprehensive historical works like the Major Babad are called in Javanese Babad Tanah Jawi, History of Java. According to a tradition of Javanese scholars mentioned by Winter in his "Javaanse Zamenspraken" (Javanese Conversations, 1848, no. 73), au-

thors of historical texts before 1800 were a certain paṇĕran of Adilaṅgu and Carik Bajra, who lived in the Kartasura period, in the beginning of the eighteenth century. Probably Yasadipura used their works. The Major Babad Tanah Jawi and the Babad Giyanti of Yasadipura were published by the "Volkslektuur" printing office of Batavia. Poerbatjaraka ("Kapustakan Djawi", 1952, p. 166) mentions Babad Pakĕpur and Babad Prayut as later historical works of Yasadipura.

Under the present head historical texts of the Babad Tanah Jawi type, of Surakarta origin, are collected. In the nineteenth century these Babads attracted the attention of Dutch students of Javanese history. For their use a concise Javanese prose version of a long text in verse was made in Surakarta. It was edited by Meinsma, in the course of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries twice reprinted, and translated into Dutch. Dr. Brandes made a Dutch alphabetical Register of topographical and personal names, found in the Meinsma prose Babad, with detailed notes. Dr. Brandes' Register still is the best guide for students of the history of the Mataram Kings.

Manuscripts containing historical texts called *babad* have been registered in the General Index under this catchword, and under the special names of periods of Javanese history (*Mataram* etc.) mentioned in the present Synopsis (25.600—28.200).

27.010 Histories of Javanese kingdoms, especially the Mataram Kings, in verse:

cod. 1786 1-18 (Major Babad Tanah Jawi = BCB prtf 31-34), 2046, 2308, 6755 (Babad Prayud, sequence of Major Babad), 10.989/10.990.

27.020 History of Javanese kingdoms, in verse, concise version:

cod. 1837.

27.030 History of Mataram Kings, prose version, Meinsma:

cod. 1833 I-III, NBS 236, KITLV Or 8, KITLV Or 9, KITLV Or 10, CB 127.

27.200 Histories of the Yogyakarta Kingdom. The Yogyakarta Sultanate was in a state of unrest for three quarters of a century after its foundation in 1755. For a long time relations between Surakarta and Yogyakarta were strained, and the Dutch governor's authority was barely strong enough to maintain the peace in Central Java. During the administration of Marshall Daendels and during the British interregnum (1811-1814) Yogyakarta had to cope with disturbances due to succession disputes, which eventually developed into a war in 1813. The British forces invaded the Sultan's residence and sacked it. Finally in 1813 Sir Stamford Raffles saw fit to install a younger member of the Royal Family as an independent Prince with dominions of his own, in the same manner as the Surakarta King had been forced to tolerate the independent Prince Maṅku Nagara residing in the same town. In Yogyakarta the secondary ruler was called Prince Paku Alam.

In the course of the nineteenth century both the Maṅkunagaran and the Pakualaman families could boast of some gifted members who were patrons of letters. In the present Synopsis Maṅkunagaran and Pakualaman history will be discussed under separate heads (28.200 and 28.000).

In Yogyakarta the troubles of the Maṅku Bumi period prior to the foundation of the

Sultanate and the ensuing disturbances became the subject-matter of several historical works. The unfortunate war with the British was given the name *praṅ Spèhi*, on account of the Indian sepoys serving in the British army.

Manuscripts containing information on the subject have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *Yogyakarta*.

27.210 History of Amēṅku Buwana I, Yogyakarta tradition:

cod. 2191.

27.220 Yogyakarta history:

cod. 2294 (Major Babad tradition).

27.230 Yogyakarta history, British interregnum, Babad Spèhi:

cod. 2045 (Bēḍah Ṇayogya), 5765, NBS 36 (= 5540).

27.240 Yogyakarta history, Babad Spèhi, Maṅkudiniṅrat:

cod. 6791.

27.250 Yogyakarta history with saṅkalas, in verse:

cod. 8604 (Surya Raja).

27.260 Yogyakarta history:

cod. 6602 (KBG 165).

27.400 Histories of the Dipa Nagara troubles. The major disturbance in Yogyakarta history was the Dipa Nagara war, 1825-1830. Originating in Court disputes, the troubles spread over the greater part of Central Java. In the course of the war the Yogyakarta prince Dipa Nagara, originally a malcontent, became the centre of a powerful group of insurgents. Islamic Messianic hopes were placed on him: he was called Eru Cakra. In the end the Dutch forces, supported by Javanese and Madurese

troops, got the mastery of Dipa Nagara's followers. The prince was exiled and died in Makasar in 1855. He left an autobiographic history written in the authentic Javanese babad style, beginning with a genealogy. In the twentieth century Dipa Nagara is venerated as a nationalist and a fighter for the independence of Indonesia.

The Dipa Nagara troubles had important consequences for the political and economic development of Java. Several Javanese Dipa Nagara histories were written, and Dutch historians wrote books based on official papers and army reports. The Babad Dipa Nagara written by a Javanese gentleman who after the war was made Regent of Purwarēja as a reward for his services, was published in the nineteenth century. The original was called Buku Kěḍuṅ Kěbo after the old name of the town of Purwarēja.

Manuscripts containing information on the subject are registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Dipa Nagara* and *Yogyakarta*.

27.410 Dipa Nagara autobiography, written in exile:

cod. 6547 (four volumes).

27.420 Dipa Nagara history, Kěḍuṅ Kěbo version:

cod. 1823, 2115, 2163, KITLV Or 13, DevAth V 1, 11.094.

27.430 Dipa Nagara history, Surakarta and Yogyakarta Court versions:

cod. 2114, 6199 and 6200 (Yogyakarta Court), 8603.

27.440 Dipa Nagara history, Ali Basah:

cod. 8553.

27.450 Babad Dipanagaran Surya Nalam, romanticized:

cod. 6488.

27.460 Dipa Nagara history, Jaya Baya:
cod. NBS 37.

27.600 History of Paku Buwana VI of Surakarta. The Dipa Nagara troubles, originating in Yogyakarta, had repercussions also in Surakarta. Though on the whole both Surakarta Courts, the Kasunanan and the Maṅkunagaran, were antagonistic to the Yogyakarta insurgents, sometimes the Susuhunan seemed to waver. In Javanese literature one episode of Surakarta history of the time is called Babad Pakēpuṅ Surakarta, after a temporary encirclement of the town, effectuated by Maṅkunagaran troops, in order to prevent the infiltration of insurgents coming from the countryside. Another episode ended in the exile of the Surakarta King Paku Buwana VI, whose behaviour was equivocal. Afterwards he was called Baṅun Tapa, on account of the ascetic practices he was supposed to favour. The latter episode, of 1830, was described in a separate historical text, called Babad Baṅun Tapa or Nonah Kuwi, after the Chinese girl who was the exile's consolation in Ambon.

27.610 History of Paku Buwana VI Baṅun Tapa:

cod. 2328 (= 10.741 = BCB prtf 221), 8988 (Nonah Kuwi).

27.800 Suryèṅalaga incident, Yogyakarta. At the Yogyakarta Court, history was on the point of repeating itself after the death of Sultan Amēṅku Buwana VI Maṅku Bumi in 1877. The malcontent prince Suryèṅalaga, who probably was impressed by the exploits of his forbear Dipa Nagara, was speedily arrested by the Dutch

Resident's men and the peace was not disturbed.

27.810 History of Suryèṅalaga, Yogyakarta.

cod. 6756.

28.000 Pakualaman Histories, Surya Nagara, Yogyakarta. About the middle of the nineteenth century, literature found a patron in Yogyakarta in the person of Surya Nagara, related to the Pakualaman House. The Yogyakarta style of the period was flowery, using a literary idiom containing *kawi* words which in Surakarta were unknown. Yogyakarta script also was different, using some characters which in Surakarta were obsolete. Yogyakarta, especially Pakualaman, manuscripts often were illuminated. Surakarta manuscripts containing coloured decorations are scarce.

Surya Nagara was interested in history. Some historical texts were written in his time, either by himself or by authors who were stimulated by him. He has a remarkable list of years of memorable events, Saṅkala niṅ Momana (see 25.440) to his name.

Since the first decades of the nineteenth century Surakarta literature (Yasadipura) was dominant in the field of Javanese letters. Works of Yogyakarta authors were seldom read outside the circle of the Sultan's and the Paku Alam's Courts. As a consequence in the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries typical Yogyakarta literature has rarely been published and printed. The Javanese reading public outside Yogyakarta preferred literature in the Surakarta style and idiom.

Nevertheless at the Yogyakarta Sultan's Court, especially in epic history and wayan

literature, a peculiar tradition was preserved, different from the dominant Surakarta style. In Yogyakarta several epic heroes had names which were unusual outside the Sultanate. The divergence was intentional, it was a consequence of the political separation enforced by the treaty of 1755. In some respects Yogyakarta literary style remained rather old-fashioned. The Surakarta literary renaissance of the nineteenth century did not impress Yogyakarta authors as an important improvement on the Mataram traditions of which they considered themselves the guardians.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts are registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Yogyakarta*, *Paku Alam* and *Surya Nagara*.

28.010 History of Javanese kingdoms, Surya Nagara, Yogyakarta:

cod. 2251, 2252, KITLV Or 15, KITLV Or 188.

28.020 History of Yogyakarta, Dipa Nagara troubles, Surya Nagara and grand-vizir Danu Rēja V:

cod. 8552 a, b, c.

28.030 Babad Tanah Jawi, Yogyakarta, Pakualaman, in prose:

cod. NBS 216 (= 10.726 A, B).

28.200 Maṅkunagaran Histories, Surakarta. In Surakarta, in the middle of the nineteenth century, Prince Maṅku Nagara IV was a patron of literature. He was a contemporary of Raṅga Warsita, the well-known author, the last of the great men of the Surakarta classical renaissance. Political history was not the principal interest of later Surakarta authors: their works

belong to the province of Belles-Lettres. Nevertheless the Maṅkunagaran Princes ordered some histories of their own House to be written, evidently in order to balance the great Surakarta babads of the Susuhunan's Court scholars.

The remarkable Maṅkunagaran Diary, 1780-1791 A.D. is of small consequence for political history. It is valuable, however, as one of the few remaining specimens of Court Diaries, which probably in former times were kept regularly by officials (often women) of Royal households. They were never meant to be published and probably after some years they were forgotten and disappeared. The Maṅkunagaran Diary is preserved as a consequence of its being versified by a lady who cultivated writing poetry as a pastime.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Maṅku Nagara* and *Pranṅ Wadana* (another name of the princes of the Maṅkunagaran House).

28.210 History of the Princes Maṅku Nagara of Surakarta:

cod. 6781, 8986 no. 1 (Babad Panamban vol. II).

28.220 Maṅkunagaran Diary:

cod. KITLV Or 231-232.

28.400 *Pustaka Raja*, *Raṅga Warsita*, Surakarta. The last of the great scholars of the nineteenth century Surakarta renaissance of letters, Raṅga Warsita, was pre-eminently an encyclopedist. He collected old tales and traditions and arranged them in voluminous books, written in prose. It seems likely that he knew some eighteenth century Pasisir Universal His-

tories and Books of Tales, which were written in verse. Raṅga Warsita's books on mythology and ancient history, which he called *Pustaka Raja*, Books of Kings, impress the reader in a remarkable way. The events of myth and epic history are dated consecutively according to a chronology, solar and lunar years, of Raṅga Warsita's own invention, and so the *Pustaka Raja* makes an impression of being historically reliable, which it is not. Raṅga Warsita's chronicles of Creation, cosmogony, myth and epics have parallels in the literatures of other peoples. His, at first sight preposterous, idea of dating all tales is to be considered as a consequence of his thoroughly Javanese belief in an all-pervading Order, which should also be made visible in myth and ancient history.

Raṅga Warsita's *Pustaka Raja*, and the introductory *Paramayoga*, on cosmogony, were published in Surakarta and Yogyakarta between 1884 and 1892. At that time they were very much appreciated in the circles of Javanese literati. Epic history, the Paṇḍawa tale (according to Javanese wayaṅ tradition), was far from finished in the five *Pustaka Raja* volumes. Therefore epigones, chiefly Sumahatmaka, of the Maṅkunagaran House, wrote sequences in the same style, called *Pustaka Raja Madya* and *Pustaka Raja Puwara* or *Wasana*.

Raṅga Warsita's *Pustaka Raja* inspired the Surakarta playwrights who wrote the wayaṅ madya and wayaṅ gēdog pakēms (see 31.120 and 31.130). Some of his tales were versified by later authors (see 31.340).

Manuscripts containing relevant information have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Raṅga Warsita* and *Pustaka Raja*.

28.410 Pustaka Raja by Ranga Warsita:
cod. 6375/6376, 6546.

28.420 Pustaka Raja epitome, by Suradipura:

cod. 6485.

28.430 Pustaka Raja sequence:

cod. 6430.

28.440 Babad Saṅkala in prose, Pustaka Raja style:

cod. 6487.

28.450 Jitapsara cosmogony, Paramayoga style:

cod. 6414.

28.460 Sajarah iṅ Nata kina-kina, mythology, Banduṅ, Prambanan:

cod. NBS 22.

28.470 Pustaka Raja Wéda, Purwa-Madya-Wasana, Sumahatmaka:

cod. 11.083—11.086.

28.600 Genealogies of Royal and noble families are very much in evidence in Javanese literature. Many books of notes and compendiums contain genealogies, in the Islamic period mostly called Sajarah. Often the beginning is mythic and legendary. In accordance with the major Babads, Royal genealogies as a rule begin with Adam. Bipartition of Paněžen, right hand, Muslim prophets' ancestry, and Paṅjiwa, left hand, Indian epic and heroic ancestry, is apparent (see 24.500). Nevertheless in the later generations many genealogies may contain trustworthy information. It is difficult to ascertain, however, at what time the trustworthiness begins.

Under the present head manuscripts containing genealogical texts mostly referring to Central Javanese Royal and noble families of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

have been collected. Genealogies of other groups have been registered under preceding heads: 21.200 (Bali) and 22.200 ff. (Local histories and genealogies of Java). References to manuscripts containing information on the subject are to be found in the General Index under the catchword *genealogy*.

28.610 Genealogy of Kings, Surakarta origin:

cod. 5591-II (= 10.679 = BCB prtf 161), 8612 (Sajarah Dalēm), 8617 b, AdKIT 2522/1.

28.620 Genealogy of Kings, Yogyakarta origin:

cod. 2177, 8578, 8807.

28.630 Portraits of Royal ancestors, wayar style:

cod. 10.935.

28.640 Ranga Warsita genealogy:

cod. NBS 81-VII (= 10.640 = BCB prtf 78).

28.800 Javanese Biographies. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries some Javanese biographies were written, probably in part at the instance of Dutch scholars. Many Javanese historical texts contain biographical elements, but the idea of writing a book solely on the life of one man and that not even a King, seems alien to the spirit of Javanese literature, which is not interested in individuals but in social and cosmic order.

Biographical elements are also found in some tales of travellers, which in the present Synopsis have been registered in Part Three, Belles-Lettres (see 31.440).

The well-known biography of Abdul Kadir Jailani, the venerated Muslim saint, has been listed in Part One, Religion, because

in Java it is primarily a book of religious edification (16.410). The published Ranga Warsita biography (printed in Surakarta by a local printer between 1930 and 1940) is more extensive than the Leiden manuscript.

28.810 Biography of Ranga Warsita, 1803-1873, by Padma Warsita:

cod. 6467.

28.820 Raga Pasaja, Sasra Kusuma autobiography, beginning 1901:

cod. 10.842.

28.830 Autobiography of Suradipura:

cod. 6607.

28.840 Wanderings of Soma Rēja:

cod. 6553.

29.000 Commentaries, interpretations and notes on history.

Because of their fundamental religious belief in cosmic order and interrelationship of all things visible and invisible, and of all events, past, present and future, Javanese scholars often tried to find explanations of historical facts. In Javanese culture cosmic mythology, religious belief and historiography were closely connected. The Old Javanese Pararaton already contains a specimen of explanation of history: the tale of the criss which was destined to be a fatal weapon for several generations of King.

The beginning of the Islamic period in Java was turbulent. Changes in religion and dynastic history inspired Javanese authors of the Pasisir districts to write their Universal Histories which also contain specimens of explanation on the basis of mythology. The tales, referring to the settling of Dutch traders in Java, connected with Alexander the Great or with a fatal princess with a fiery womb, are particularly interesting in this respect (see 26.200).

In Old Javanese literature allegorical speculations on gods of the Indian pantheon and personages of epical history, Paṇḍawas

and Pañji, are favourite topics. The gods and heroes are associated with limbs of the human body and mental faculties. In the Islamic period related religious speculations are found referring to personages of the wayaṅ theatre, who are associated with concepts belonging to the peculiar Javanese branch of Muslim mysticism. Texts containing religious speculations of that kind have been registered in Part One, Religion (16.600, references in the General Index under the catchword *allegory*). They are casually mentioned under the present head because of their relationship with speculations on the characters of personages figuring in Javanese dynastic history from the sixteenth till the nineteenth century.

Nineteenth century Javanese historians conceived a scheme of five consecutive kingdoms flourishing in the past centuries: Dēmak, Pajaṅ, Mataram, Kartasura and Surakarta/Yogyakarta. Moreover they were convinced of the importance of Kings as determinant factors in history. Economic and social developments were still beyond their horizon. So they wrote treatises on the

characters of historic Kings, meaning in this way to provide explanations of the course of history. The descriptions of characters are not psychological in the modern sense of the word. They rather refer to the Kings' behaviour. Often they are couched in cryptic language.

Under the present head various texts containing comments on historical developments have been collected. In addition to the descriptions of characters some authors wrote treatises containing explanations connected with Javanese mysticism. Another author associates well-known tales with eroticism, yet another with opium smoking. The Javanese authors' faculty of making associations of all kinds is once more made apparent by these texts.

Manuscripts containing information on the subject have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *candra* (referring also to physiognomy), *character*, *pambĕkan* and *watĕk*.

29.010 Characters of Javanese Kings, Pam-bĕkan in para Nata:

cod. 6396.

29.020 Jaṅka Maṅkunagaran, characters of Princes Maṅku Nagara:

cod. 8986 no. 2.

29.030 Rasa Jarwa, by Sie Tjien Lok, erotic interpretation of historical tales:

cod. 8990 no. 5.

29.040 Pambuka niṅ Warana, by Jaya Sukarta, Yogyakarta:

cod. 8990 no. 6.

29.050 Wayan Kliṭik, by Surajin Wĕda Wirjana, Yogyakarta; opium:

cod. 8990 no. 7.

29.200 Various notes on history.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries several Javanese and Dutch scholars who were interested in history collected notes on various subjects. In some cases the notes were worked up into essays, in other cases they were left as they were found: selected passages from more comprehensive books.

Under the present head Javanese notes on history made by nineteenth and twentieth century scholars have been collected. Some Dutch notes on Javanese history have been added.

29.210 Sĕrat Mariyĕm, history of cannon, heirlooms of the Javanese Courts, by Sastra Nagara and Raṅga Warsita:

cod. 6418.

29.220 Surakarta notes on history etc.

cod. 7699 (Winter's secretary), 10.844 (Kraemer), KITLV Or 262 (Rouffaer).

29.230 Wĕda Purnama, by Suradipura, 10 essays on history:

cod. 6585 (= BCB prtf 157).

29.240 Notes on history, Rinkes collection:

cod. 8652 e.

29.250 Notes on historical texts, Brandes, Dutch:

cod. 6460.

29.260 Notes on Kartasura history:

cod. 6773 e, f.

29.270 Notes on Yogyakarta history:

cod. 11.089.

29.400 Histories of foreign countries. Though, of course, Java was first and foremost, the history of other countries also drew the attention of some nineteenth century Javanese authors. The story of the end of Napoleon's career was translated from Dutch. Probably the translator was a Dutch student of Javanese literature.

The text was published in Yogyakarta. The episode of the history of Mecca was told in Javanese by an exile from Java, seeking refuge in the holy city after the defeat of Prince Dipa Nagara, whose follower he had been.

29.410 Napoleon Bonaparte:

cod. 1844.

29.420 Raja Bilzon, episode of Meccan history:

cod. 2295, 6793.

SYNOPSIS, PART THREE

BELLES - LETTRES

30.000 Old Javanese belletristic epic poetry of Indian inspiration.

The late professor Poerbatjaraka's Javanese book on Javanese literature ("Kumpulan Djawi", in the Bahasa Indonesia edition called "Kepustakaan Djawa", Djambatan, Amsterdam 1952) contains an admirable summary of the most important products of Javanese authors, both pre-Islamic and Muslim. Trying to establish a chronological order in the mass of Javanese writings, Poerbatjaraka did not make a distinction between heterogeneous texts. As a matter of fact the learned Javanese scholar was more interested in belletristic and historical works than in any other genre. In the present Synopsis, however, chronological order is relegated to the second plan. The present author has tried to cover the whole of Javanese literary production, and with that end in view he has divided the mass of Javanese writings into the four specifically distinct Parts which have been mentioned before (see 00010).

In several cases it has been difficult to make a clear distinction between texts to be registered in Part One, Part Two and Part Three of the present Synopsis. Starting from the principle that all Javanese writings belong to literature, the present author has collected all texts dealing with religion and

ethics in Part One, and all texts referring to history and mythology in Part Two, because on the whole religious and historical books are the most representative exponents of Javanese culture. As a result purely belletristic works are relegated to the third place.

However, belletristic literature is not devoid of the Javanese spirit. In the period of the classical renaissance of Javanese letters, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the literature of original wayang plays assumed enormous proportions. The genius of Javanese civilization found in those plays a wonderful stage. The Cĕṅṭini and related narrative poems of Javanese origin, written in the eighteenth century, also are remarkable literary products. Both wayang plays and narrative poems of the Cĕṅṭini genre are closely related to works belonging to Parts One and Two, Religion and Mythology, of the present Synopsis. Many poetical romances written in various periods have close connections with Javanese history.

In fact, in Javanese civilization the fundamental concept of social and cosmic Order pervades all original literature. Belles-Lettres, in the sense of literature written only to please and for pastime, of autochthonous origin, is scarce. The majority of belle-

tristic texts is of foreign, mostly Indian, origin. In the pre-Islamic period Javanese authors of belletristic books borrowed their subjects from Indian epical literature. In the Muslim period they drew on the great Persian-Arabic narrative and epical works. In the case of Islamic tales Malay literature often was the intermediary.

The foreign origin of a majority of Javanese belletristic books, especially the older ones, finds an explanation in the character of Court literature proper to Belles-Lettres in Java. Especially in the pre-Islamic period the great Old Javanese epic poems of Indian inspiration were written for the delectation of cultured Kings and courtiers. It seems probable that at the same time tales and poetry of a less sophisticated character were told and sung in the countryside, but these texts have not come down to us.

In the pre-Islamic period belletristic Court literature consisted mainly in Old Javanese poetic adaptations of epic tales borrowed from Indian literature. The metres were also Indian. The poems were called *kakawins*, and the literary idiom: *kaŕwi*. The connection with Sanskrit *kaŕwi*, poet, and *kāwya*, poetical art, is evident (see the present author's "Java in the XIVth Century", vol. IV, p. 332). The Old Javanese *kakawins* and related belletristic literature, which will be discussed in the following paragraphs (30.000—30.215), belong to Era A of Javanese cultural history (see 00020), and their literary idiom has been registered in 00030 as the idiom of group 1.

It seems probable, on account of customs still prevailing in Bali and East Java (see 30.520), that Old Javanese *kakawins* originally were meant to be recited or chanted

stanza by stanza, every stanza to be followed by a prose paraphrase or an explanation in the vernacular.

The oldest *kakawin* which has come down to us is the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which was probably written in the period of the suzerainty of Central Javanese Kings residing in the old district of Mataram. In vocabulary the *Rāmāyaṇa* resembles some of the oldest Royal charters which were issued in the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries. The poem follows the *Wālmiki* tradition in its development of the plot, but it is not an adaptation of *Wālmiki's Rāmāyaṇa*. Probably a shorter Sanskrit *kāwya* was the Old Javanese author's example (see Hooykaas, "The Old "Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, an exemplary *Kakawin*", Amsterdam 1958).

The Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa kakawin* is written in a mannered style. The poet used many poetic embellishments. Probably on this point also he followed the example of a Sanskrit *kāwya*. The close connection between the oldest Old Javanese Court literature and the art of Sanskrit *kāwya* poets is a corroboration of the thesis that Indian civilization was introduced into Java by men belonging to the cultured classes of society.

Rama tales apparently belonging to another branch of Indian literary tradition were also introduced into Java, probably in an early period. The reliefs in stone on the walls of the well-known Prambanan temple in Central Java, almost contemporaneous with the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa kakawin*, represent a different version of the Rama tales (see Stutterheim, "Rāma Legendes "und Rāma Reliefs in Indonesien", 1925). In Javanese literature of the Islamic period both branches of Rama tales, the Old Java-

nese Rāmāyaṇa and the other, apparently a more popular one, are in evidence side by side (see 31.067).

In all periods of the history of Javanese literature the Rāmāyaṇa was considered a classic. New adaptations in the literary idiom of the period were made, and the old text was copied many times. In consequence manuscripts containing Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa texts are numerous.

In the case of the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa as well as of other Old Javanese *kakawins* a distinction should be made between manuscripts of Central Javanese origin and those written in Bali. Javanese manuscripts have a corrupt text, due to the fact that they were copied many times during a period of two or three centuries by Muslim Javanese scribes (probably of the Eastern Pasisir districts), whose knowledge of the Old Javanese literary idiom was deficient (see 30.900). Balinese manuscripts have a better text, for in Bali Old Javanese literary tradition was preserved through the centuries without an interruption.

Both Javanese and Balinese scholars made new versions in the vernacular, modern Javanese or Balinese, of Old Javanese *kakawins*. The Javanese versions are registered in the present Synopsis under the heads referring to the renaissance period of Javanese literary history (see 30.900 ff.). Balinese literature deserves to be described in a separate book.

Balinese manuscripts often have interlinear glosses written above and between the lines. They are either in the Javanese-Balinese literary idiom or in Balinese or in a mixed idiom. The presence of glosses is explained by the use that was made of Old

Javanese *kakawins*; they were chanted or recited and then explained in the vernacular stanza by stanza. In the present Synopsis glosses are not registered separately. Their presence in a manuscript is indicated by a note: with glosses. In the General Index manuscripts containing glossed texts have been registered under the catchword *glosses*.

The Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa text was edited by professor Kern in 1900 and translated into Dutch by Kern and Juynboll consecutively (BKI, vols. 73-94, 1917-1936).

Under the present head, the Balinese manuscripts are registered in the first place because they contain the best text. Kern's edition is based on Balinese manuscripts. Javanese codexes containing the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa are relegated to the second place, on account of the corrupt state of their texts.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts or fragments, either of Balinese or Javanese origin, have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *Rāmāyaṇa*. The catchword *Rama* refers to Javanese texts of a later period.

30.001 Rāmāyaṇa, Balinese tradition, complete text:

cod. 2201, 2202 (glossed), 4436, 4438 (glossed).

30.002 Rāmāyaṇa, Balinese tradition, fragments and selections:

cod. 1878, 2059, 2217, 2301, 3871 (compendium), 4437, 5262, 5384, 11.097.

30.003 Rāmāyaṇa, Balinese tradition, fragments and selections, with interlinear glosses:

cod. 2200, 3747 (= 4440), 3761 (= 4443), 3820 (= 4441), 3838, 3881 (compendium), 3882, 4439, 4442, 4444, 5094, Ad GUB 56.

30.004 Rāmāyaṇa, Javanese tradition, called Rama Kawi :

cod. 1790, NBS 121.

30.010 The Old Javanese B h ā r a t a Y u d d h a might be expected to be a counterpart of the Rāmāyaṇa. Its subject-matter is the heroic struggle of Pāṇḍawas and Kaurawas, sung in the Sanskrit Mahābhārata, which is considered a pendant of Wālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa. But then, there are several differences between the two Old Javanese *kakawins*. As a work of poetical art, Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa is superior to Bhārata Yuddha. The Rama epic, having a Sanskrit kāwya for example, is closely connected with Indian literature. It is complete in itself, and contains the whole tale of Rāma and Sitā. The Old Javanese Bhārata Yuddha, however, contains no more than an account of the final battle. The main part of the Māhābhārata tale, beginning with Ādiparwa, is not represented in Old Javanese literature by a poem but by the prose *parwas*, which in the present Synopsis have been registered in Part Two, History and Mythology (20.100).

The structural differences between Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa and Bhārata Yuddha can be explained by the differences in age and origin. The Bhārata Yuddha is probably younger than the Rāmāyaṇa by about two centuries or even more. It was written at the Court of a King of East Java, a successor of the unknown Central Javanese King who probably was the patron of the likewise unknown poet of the Rāmāyaṇa.

The Bhārata Yuddha has a remarkable feature in common with several other East Javanese *kakawins*: they contain notes on

the name of the poet, the year of the composition of the poem, and the name of the Royal patron. Similar pieces of information are not found in the Rāmāyaṇa. The Bhārata Yuddha contains passages saying that the composition of the poem was begun in 1157 A.D. by mpu Sēḍah and finished by mpu Panuluh. Their Royal patron was King Jaya Bhaya of Kaḍiri.

In one respect Old Javanese Bhārata Yuddha and Rāmāyaṇa are equals, though, and for that reason they are discussed consecutively in the present Synopsis. Both poems were admired by later generations of Javanese authors, and used as mines of knowledge on poetical expressions and descriptions, perhaps the Bhārata Yuddha even more so than its older counterpart, which is more difficult to understand. Names of heroes, and stanzas borrowed from Old Javanese Bhārata Yuddha, in later times often corrupted, appear in the texts of plays of the national wayaṅ purwa theatre.

Probably the legendary wise King Jaya Bhaya who occupies an important place in eschatological prophecies of the Islamic period (see 25.200) owes the Bhārata Yuddha poet, the panegyrist of the historic King Jaya Bhaya of Kaḍiri, his name and fame. The appearance of King Jaya Bhaya in eighteenth and nineteenth century literary prophecies may have been a result of the study of the Old Javanese Bhārata Yuddha. The poet, mpu Sēḍah, began his work by extolling the wisdom of his Royal patron. This need not have been mere praise; perhaps the King really had a thorough understanding of the civilization of his time. It is worthy of record that Jaya Bhaya of Kaḍiri really is entitled to the honour of being con-

sidered by later Muslim Javanese authors as the prophetic wizard of heathendom, because in his time an amalgamation of imported Indian culture with elements of pristine indigenous Javanese civilization was effected (see 30.080, on the Ghaṭotkacāśraya, also written by mpu Panuluh). It seems a likely supposition that the twelfth century was an important period of the cultural history of Java, and King Jaya Bhaya of Kaḍiri became the outstanding representative of that era in the historical tradition of later Javanese authors.

The above-mentioned remarkable features of the Bhārata Yuddha and other *kakawins* of approximately the same period, the reigns of the Kaḍiri and Majapahit Kings, namely inserted notes on the name of a Royal patron, on the poet's own name (probably a pen-name) and the date of the composition, suggest that all those poems really were meant to be panegyrics. Professor Berg ("Herkomst, vorm en functie der Middel-Javaanse Rijksdelingstheorie", Amsterdam 1953) even supposed that adulation and idolization of Kings were the principal motives of Old Javanese Court poets in writing *kakawins*. This supposition seems rather simplistic. P. J. Zoetmulder's article "Kawi 'and Kakawin'" (BKI vol. 113, 1957) throws much light on the subject. Praise of a powerful patron mentioned by name and in some way brought in connection with the subject-matter of the tale is found in many literary products of Javanese authors, as well as poets belonging to other Courts of ancient Asia and Europe. In the present author's opinion Javanese poets should not be denied common human curiosity and interest in good romantic tales, nor artistic sentiment and

pleasure in the pursuit of their art. They often professed to feel an inner urge to make poems. Out of the store-house of Indian literature they selected the subject-matter to make their epic poems. In several cases we do not know the reason why certain Indian tales were chosen to be made into *kakawins*. The present author is inclined to suppose that Javanese poets were especially attracted by those Indian tales which had some affinity or at least some congeniality with indigenous legendary stories or folk-tales referring to the mythical origin of primeval tribal society (see "Java in the Fourteenth Century", vol. V, 1963, p. 433 ff.).

The Old Javanese Bhārata Yuddha text is known by manuscripts of Balinese and Javanese origin, and it was glossed and afterwards adapted for use in modern times like the Rāmāyaṇa text (see 30.000). The eighteenth and nineteenth century versions of Old Javanese Bhārata Yuddha are called Brata Yuda (see 30.900).

The Bhārata Yuddha was edited by Gunning in 1903, and translated into Dutch by Hooykaas and Poerbatjaraka (in Djāwā, vol. 14, 1934). The edition of the Brata Yuda by Cohen Stuart (Verh. KBG vol. 27) contains notes referring to the Old Javanese Bhārata Yuddha text.

Under the present head priority of place is given to the Balinese manuscripts, because they contain the best preserved texts. Gunning's edition is based on Balinese manuscripts. Codexes of Javanese origin are relegated to the second place, their texts are mostly corrupt.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *Bhārata Yuddha*. The

catchword *Brata Yuda* refers to Javanese texts belonging to a later period.

30.011 Bhārata Yuddha, Balinese tradition, complete text:

cod. 1880, 3580, 3651 (= 4113).

30.012 Bhārata Yuddha, Balinese tradition, fragments and selections:

cod. 2207, 2208, 3060, 3591, 3629 (= 4115), 3959, 4114, 4116, 5275, 10.532 (= BCB prtf 27), 10.533 (= BCB prtf 27), 10.534 (= BCB prtf 27), CB 12, REM 16-569, KHA 0 1, AdKIT A 4846/e.

30.013 Bhārata Yuddha, Balinese tradition, fragments and selections, with interlinear glosses:

cod. 3578 (= 4121), 3732 (= 4120), 4117, 4119, 4122, 4123, 4124, CB 11, AdGUB 52.

30.014 Bhārata Yuddha, Javanese tradition, called *Brata Yuda kawi*:

cod. 1788, 2107, 2108 (lithographic facsimile), NBS 8.

30.020 Old Javanese kakawins, major poems (group A).

Under the following heads the remaining Old Javanese *kakawins* will be discussed in chronological order, as far as possible, following Poerbatjaraka's paragraphs in his "Kapustakan Djawi" (see 30.000). This book contains summaries of the contents of the *kakawins*. Several poems were edited and translated into Dutch by the same author between 1920 and 1940. Tentatively the *kakawins* discussed under the heads 30.020—30.134 have been distinguished, as major and older poems (group A), from those belonging to the next group (30.135—30.169), because probably the latter, called minor *kakawins* (group B), though still written in Java, are younger. A third group of *kakawins* (30.190—30.214), associated with epic prose tales (30.215—30.221), seems to be of Balinese origin, though written in the Old Javanese literary idiom (group C). A forthcoming book by professor Zoetmulder, dealing with Old Javanese liter-

ature, will contain explicit information on the *kakawins*.

The third Old Javanese epic poem which for centuries occupied an important place in Javanese literature is the *Arjuna Wiwāha*, Arjuna's Nuptials. Unlike the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Bhārata Yuddha*, which are closely related with the two principal cycles of semi-historical tales of ancient India, the subject-matter of the *Arjuna Wiwāha* and other *kakawins* to be discussed under the following heads is borrowed from minor Sanskrit epic literature. The Indian sources where the Javanese authors found the plots of their poems are mostly unknown to us. It is possible that Javanese poets with fertile imaginations combined some Indian tales, amalgamating them with ancient stories originally belonging to Javanese mythology.

The *Arjuna Wiwāha* contains notes to the effect that the poet, called mpu Kaṇwa,

lived in the reign (an probably at the Court) of Erlangga, a King who ruled in East Java, probably in the district of Kahuripan, in the delta of the river Brantas, in the beginning of the eleventh century.

The central plot of the *Arjuna Wiwāha* is Arjuna's struggle with Niwāta Kawaca, a King whose name is borrowed from the Niwāta Kawaca group of demons, well-known in Indian mythology and mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, Wana Parwa. The Javanese poem has a lengthy prelude mentioning a boar hunt and a trial of strength between Arjuna and Śiwa, and an aftermath, the description of Arjuna's sojourn in the gods' abode sporting with the heavenly maidens, the hero's reward for his troubles in vanquishing the demon. The name of the *kakawin*, Arjuna's Nuptials, refers to the last part.

The *Arjuna Wiwāha* was studied assiduously by Javanese authors of the eighteenth and the nineteenth century as well as by modern European scholars. Javanese authors saw in the poem an allegory referring to a superior man's struggle in life, his victory over demoniacal powers and his final apotheosis. The *Minta Raga* (the *Arjuna Wiwāha*'s name in modern Javanese literature, see 31.000) was considered as a counterpart of the *Bima Suci* poem, which has for subject Bima's quest for the water of life and esoteric wisdom (see 31.040). In a well-known eighteenth century Central Javanese treatise on mysticism, the *Caboīèk* (see 15.200) there is a discussion of the merits of the *Minta Raga* and the *Bima Suci*. Considering the *Arjuna Wiwāha kakawin* from a modern European point of view, professor Berg described it as an

epithalamium, a poem especially composed for the marriage of Erlangga, the East Javanese King who was the poet's patron (see Berg, "*Arjuna Wiwāha*, Erlangga's Brui-loftslid", BKI vol. 97, 1938, and Zoetmulder, "*Kawi and Kēkawin*", BKI vol. 113, 1957).

The first edition of the *Arjuna Wiwāha*, by Friederich (Verh. KBG vol. 23, 1850), was unsatisfactory. Poerbatjaraka published a new edition with a Dutch translation in 1926 (BKI vol. 82).

Under the present head the Balinese manuscripts of the *Arjuna Wiwāha*, often provided with interlinear Balinese glosses, have been registered first, because they contain the best preserved text. Codexes of Javanese origin come only in the second place, their texts are mostly corrupt.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts are registered in the General Index under the catchword *Arjuna Wiwāha*.

30.021 *Arjuna Wiwāha*, Balinese tradition, complete or nearly complete text:

cod. 1875, 1876, 2205, 2206, 3588, 5107, 5122.

30.022 *Arjuna Wiwāha kakawin*, Balinese tradition, fragments and selections:

cod. 4071, 4980, 10.530 (= BCB prtf 27), 10.531 (= BCB prtf 27), CB 9, CB 10, CB 136-I, REM 3085-31, RtMLV 28856.

30.023 *Arjuna Wiwāha kakawin*, Balinese tradition, with interlinear glosses, partly fragments and selections:

cod. 3755 (= 7218 = BCB prtf 154, nearly complete), 3772 (= 7220 = BCB prtf 154), 4072 (complete), 4073 (complete), 5381, AdKIT 519/1, AdKIT 836/3.

30.024 Arjuna Wiwāha kakawin, West Javanese tradition:

cod. 4070 (= AdKIT 836/2: copy of a nipah palmleaf ms., from Bandung, KBG 641).

30.025 Arjuna Wiwāha kakawin, Central and East Javanese tradition, called Wiwaha Kawi:

cod. 1792, 1857, NBS 109, NBS 122, NBS 123.

30.026 Arjuna Wiwāha, Balinese illustrations:

cod. KITLV Or 318.

30.027 Arjuna Wiwāha, notes, initial stanzas:

cod. 5285.

30.030 Kṛṣṇāyana (major *kakawin*, group A). Beside the three *kakawins* which are mentioned above as classics of Court literature, taken for models by later Javanese poets, about fifteen more *kakawins*, dating from the twelfth up to the fifteenth century, have come down to us in Balinese manuscripts. Most of them have the above mentioned remarkable features of East Javanese kakawins (see 30.010): they contain notes on the name of the poet, the year of the composition of the poem, and the name of the Royal patron. These features are typical of the products of Court poets. Perhaps some *kakawins* contain allusions to events from the dynastic history of the poets' Royal patrons. It is possible that the subject-matter of some poems was chosen with a view to suggest flattering identifications of living Kings with legendary heroes. But then, our knowledge of twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth century Javanese history is very limited, so it is hazardous to identify

some feature or name in an Old Javanese poem as an allusion to some historical event.

The Kṛṣṇāyana contains the tale of Kṛṣṇa marrying Rukmini, a princess of Kuṇḍina, after having vanquished his rivals. The Old Javanese *kakawin* was written by mpu Tri-guṇa in the reign of King Warṣa Jaya of Kaḍiri, in the beginning of the twelfth century. The twelfth and thirteenth century Kaḍiri Court was a centre of literary activity (see 00050). The Kṛṣṇāyana tale is the subject-matter of a series of reliefs in stone on the wall of the Panataran temple, East Java. A Dutch epitome of the Kṛṣṇāyana, made by Poerbatjaraka, is appended to the paper dealing with these reliefs (TBG vol. 57, 1916). It is a remarkable fact that the same plot was used by a later poet, mpu Panuluh, for another *kakawin*, called Hari Waṅśa (see 30.070). The tale is well-known in a modern wayaṅ-play version, called Krēsna kēmbaṅ or Narayana maliṅ; the plot is changed, however. Van Stein Callenfels discussed the interrelationship of wayaṅ-plays and *kakawins* in his thesis "De Sudamala in "de Hindu-Javaansche Kunst" (Verh. KBG vol. 66, 1925, p. 170 f., see 30.080).

30.031 Kṛṣṇāyana:

cod. 5040.

30.040 The Sumanasāntaka (major *kakawin*, group A) contains a poetical version of the legendary history of Rāma's ancestors: the birth of his father Daśaratha as a son of King Aja of Widarbha and a celestial nymph. Kālidāsa's celebrated Sanskrit *kāvya* Raghu Waṅśa has the same tale as subject-matter.

The Old Javanese Sumanasāntaka contains notes saying that the poet, called

Moṇaguṇa, lived in the reign of King Warṣa Jaya of Kaḍiri. So it dates from the same period as the Kṛṣṇāyaṇa: the beginning of the twelfth century. Juynboll made a collation of the poem with Kālidāsa's Raghu Warṣa (BKI vol. 50, 1891).

The Javanese-Balinese adaptation in so-called *tēṇahan* metre, probably written in Bali in the eighteenth century, will be discussed separately (30.321).

30.041 Sumanasāntaka kakawin, complete:
cod. 4519 (= 4520), 5021.

30.042 Sumanasāntaka kakawin, fragments:
cod. 3777 (= 3913-II), 4986 (glossed), 5015, 5093.

30.050 The *Smara Dahana* (major *kakawin*, group A) contains the tale of Śiwa begetting Gaṇeśa with Umā. Śiwa, angry at Kāma Jaya's interference with his ascetic celibate life, burnt the god of sensual love with a glance of his divine third eye. Gaṇeśa, the elephant god, was born in order to assist the gods in their struggle with the demon King Nīla Rudraka, who was vanquished in the end.

The *kakawin* was written by mpu Dharmaja who lived at the Court of a King of Kaḍiri called Kāmeśwara, whose reign, either in the first or in the last decades of the twelfth century, is not well known. Some connection between the subject-matter of the poem, the Burning of the God of Love, and the Royal name Kāmeśwara is evident.

The *Smara Dahana* has been edited and translated into Dutch by Poerbatjaraka (KBG Bibl. Javanica vol. 3, 1931). In Poerbatjaraka's opinion, the *Smara Dahana* poet's Royal patron, whose consort was called Śrī Kiraṇa, was model for the hero of the

Pañji romances, well-known in Javanese-Balinese literature. Pañji's beloved is called Candra Kiraṇa.

30.051 *Smara Dahana*, complete or nearly complete text:

cod. 2203, 2204, 4493, 5018, 5035, 6912.

30.052 *Smara Dahana*, with interlinear glosses:

cod. 3642, 3756 (= 4494), 4495, 5105.

30.060 The subject of the Old Javanese *Bhoma Kāwya* (major *kakawin*, group A) is a tale of Kr̥śna's son Sāmba going on a quest for Yajñawati, the incarnation of the princess he loved in a former existence on earth, and Kr̥śna's victory, assisted by Arjuna, over the chthonic demon King Bhoma or Nāraka, who meets his end by being plunged into the ocean. In the *Bhoma Kāwya* neither the name of the poet nor the year of the writing is mentioned. On account of the invocation of the God of Love in the initial stanza it is supposed that King Kāmeśwara of Kaḍiri was the poet's patron. So the *Bhoma Kāwya* is considered as contemporaneous with the *Smara Dahana*.

The Old Javanese *Bhoma Kāwya* was edited by Friedrich (Verh. KBG vol. 24, 1852). It was translated into Dutch and annotated by Teeuw (1946), who found considerable discrepancies between the known Indian tales of Bhauma and Sāmba and the Old Javanese poem. Teeuw took also a classical Malay Hikayat Sang Boma into account. Boma appears in several wayang plays written in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. The original title of the *kakawin* probably was *Bhomāntaka*, Bhoma's Death.

30.061 *Bhoma Kāwya*, complete or nearly

complete text, mostly with interlinear glosses:
cod. 3755 (= 4142), 4141, 5036 (not glossed).

30.062 Bhoma Kāwya, fragments and selections, mostly with interlinear glosses:
cod. 2209, 3659 (= 4147), 3760, 4143, 4144, 4145, 4146.

30.065 Arjuna Sahasra Bāhu (major *kakawin*, group A). An unknown twelfth century Kaḍiri Court poet wrote a poem on the struggle of the epic heroes Arjuna Sahasra Bāhu, also called Karta Wirya, and Rāma Bhārgawa (Paraśu Rāma, Jāmadagnya). The greater part including the conclusion of the poem are missing in the only available manuscript. Interrelationship of the twelfth century fragmentary Arjuna Sahasra Bāhu *kakawin* and the fourteenth century Arjuna Wijaya by the Majapahit Court poet Tantular (see 30.125) is as yet unproven.

30.066 Arjuna Sahasra Bāhu, fragmentary:
cod. 4697 (= BCB prtf 23 and 164).

30.070 The Old Javanese Hari Waṅśa (major *kakawin*, group A) has almost the same plot as the Kṛṣṇāyaṇa (see 30.030): the tale of Kṛṣṇa carrying off Rukmini. The poet was mpu Panuluh, the same who finished mpu Sēḍah's Bhārata Yuddha (see 30.010). His patron was King Jaya Bhaya, who ruled over Kaḍiri in the middle of the twelfth century. The Kṛṣṇāyaṇa is older.

The Hari Waṅśa has been edited, translated into Dutch and annotated by Teeuw (Verh. KITLV, vol. 9, 1950), who remarked that the Old Javanese *kakawin* has only a remote resemblance to the Sanskrit Hari Waṅśa. The Indian poem surpasses

the Javanese by far in richness of contents.

30.071 Hari Waṅśa, complete or nearly complete text:

cod. 2213, 4236.

30.072 Hari Waṅśa, fragments:
cod. 4237.

30.080 The Ghaṭotkacāśraya (major *kakawin*, group A) is also called Ghaṭotkaca Śaraṇa. It contains the tale of Arjuna's son Abhimanyu wooing his cousin Siti Sundari, Kṛṣṇa's daughter. They have the help of Ghaṭotkaca, Bhīma's son, against Baladēwa, Kṛṣṇa's brother, who tries to prevent the marriage. The *kakawin* is believed to be a product of the fertile mind of mpu Panuluh, probably written in his old age at the twelfth century Kaḍiri Court.

A remarkable feature of the Ghaṭotkacāśraya is the appearance of *panakawans*, astute servants, mentors of the young hero Abhimanyu, in the tale. The late twelfth century *kakawin* of mpu Panuluh seems to be the first Javanese literary work, as far as known, which puts *panakawan*-like personages of the Sēmar type on the stage. Since that time the clownish old servants are seldom absent from any Javanese narrative. Their appearance is a hall-mark of Javanese authorship; they even were introduced into tales of foreign origin, like the Ménak Amir Hamza romances.

In Javanese narratives and plays the *panakawans* represent the humorous aspect of things. In several cases their humour seems mere playful roguishness and ridiculous puerility to modern readers and spectators. Yet in some Javanese texts *panakawans* are made to utter sentences which are expressions of a sublime sense of hu-

mour. The spiritual affinity between childish foolishness, deceit and divine wisdom which surpasses human understanding becomes apparent in these *panakawan* scenes. The studies of W. B. Kristensen and J. P. B. de Josselin de Jong on the Divine Deceiver ("De Goddelijke Bedrieger", and "De Oor-sprong van de Goddelijke Bedrieger", Meded. KNAW, lett. vol. 66 and 68, 1928 and 1929) are relevant to the place of the *panakawans* in Javanese civilization. In the wayang theatre the act of the clowns often begins with the playing of games and the singing of songs, and the wayang puppets and masks representing *panakawans* always show a gnomish grin. Yet in the quinquartite frame of the composition of the classical wayang plays the act of the *panakawans* occupies the central place. In Javanese speculations on cosmic Order the centre of the quadratic world, with its four quarters, is the place of the supreme divine power, the Unifier of antitheses (see the present author's "Javaanse Volksvertoningen", bijlage III).

The role of the *panakawans* in Javanese literature seems to have become most important since the efflorescence of theatrical art in the nineteenth century. The appearance of *panakawans* or other clownish personages is often a welcome relief in the tedious sequences of heroic scenes of the long epics and romances of Old Javanese, Javanese-Balinese and Pasisir literature. Javanese narratives compare favourably with similar products of other literatures, e.g. classical Malay hikayats and even Indian epics, by the insertion of humorous intermezzos of clownish scenes, where merry tomfoolery appears as a relief after the pre-

ceding seriousness and deadly dullness. In Javanese narratives the tension of dramatic situations is often relaxed, near its culminating point, by the insertion of a humorous clownish intermezzo. Evidently the Javanese consciousness of eternal Order in the cosmos and in human society produced an aversion to extremes of dramatization in literature.

Probably the *panakawans* of twelfth century narrative Court literature are borrowed from contemporaneous folk-tales, and folk-tales contain elements of ancient myths, explaining the origin of cosmic and social order in pristine tribal society. Perhaps in the *panakawans* some semi-divine personages belonging to indigenous Javanese, pre-Hinduistic mythology survive. By the introduction of the clowns into high literature mpu Panuluh marked the period of Javanization of imported Indian culture. Since that time all Javanese authors and thinkers have shown a remarkable aptitude in establishing a fusion of indigenous Javanese concepts with elements of foreign origin, at first Indian, afterwards Islamic, still later European. Mpu Panuluh's Javanizing tendency has been mentioned in 30.010 with reference to the fame of his patron Jaya Bhaya of Kaḍiri as a wise King and a prophetic wizard of pre-Islamic heathendom.

The introduction of *panakawans* in literary works has been discussed already in 22.900, with reference to the Books of Tales of the Pasisir period.

The *panakawan*-like personages mentioned in the Ghaṭotkaca kakawin are called Juru Dèh, Punta, Prasanta, names which, with some modifications (Juru Dèh Prasanta became Joḍèg Santa, according to Poerbataraka) recur in later Javanese literature.

Their parts in the tale are less important than the rôle of Sēmar in several plays of the wayaṅ theatre, which will be discussed under another head of the present Part Three (31.080).

In his thesis “De Sudamala in de Hindu-“Javaansche Kunst” (Verh. KBG vol. 66, 1925, see 30.030) van Stein Callenfels tried to prove the priority of wayaṅ-theatre plays, as compared with mpu Panuluh’s later kakawins Hari Waṅśa and Ghaṭotkacāśraya. In van Stein Callenfels’ opinion the poet adapted existing wayaṅ-plays, making them into *kakawins* in the Court style. Beside the appearance of *panakawans*, the dramatic composition of the poems seems to provide a ground for that supposition. But then, the existence of an extensive literature of wayaṅ-plays in the twelfth century is unproved. Probably the wayaṅ-plays as known at present, with their intricate composition, were not put in writing before the beginning of the nineteenth century (see 31.080). In the present author’s opinion the appearance of *panakawans* and some other features in Panuluh’s *kakawins* are better explained by supposing that he borrowed from the practice of professional popular story-tellers. One might imagine that in the twelfth century, on the one hand, Indian tales in a corrupt form penetrated into the orally transmitted folk-tale repertoire and, on the other hand, features of folk-tales appeared in high literature. In the course of many centuries the folk-tale repertoire of Java, so enriched and combined with the wayaṅ-theatre performers’ art, developed into the extensive literature of wayaṅ-plays of the nineteenth century.

30.081 Ghaṭotkacāśraya :

cod. 4231 (= 10.529 = BCB prtf 24), 4232.

30.110 *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, *Kuñjara Karna* (major *kakawin*, group A). In contradistinction to the period of the twelfth century Kaḍiri Kings, the reigns of the Kings of the Siṅasari-Majapahit dynasty in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were not fruitful of Old Javanese belletristic Court literature. The political troubles of the thirteenth century (the Chinese invasion and the sack of the Royal residences of Siṅasari and Kaḍiri) and the unrest of the fifteenth (the decline of ancient religious and social order and the rise of Islam) were not favourable for the cultivation of Belles-Lettres. Probably the reigns of the fourteenth century Majapahit Kings formed an intermezzo of relative peace and order in a long series of political troubles and internal wars. The first part of the Majapahit era, the reign of King Hayam Wuruk, was the last flourishing period of pre-Islamic culture; it was illuminated by the evening-sun of Old Javanese civilization which was to give way to the rising crescent of Islam.

In the post-Kaḍiri centuries the fusion of imported Indian civilization and elements of indigenous Javanese culture was completed. The process began already in the time of mpu Panuluh and King Jaya Bhaya of Kaḍiri (see 30.010, Bhārata Yuddha, and 30.080, Ghaṭotkacāśraya), in the twelfth century.

As a rule thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth century Old Javanese books have neither dates nor names of authors and Royal patrons mentioned in the texts. They do not have the character of panegyrics for

Royalty. The great *kakawins* of the reign of King Hayam Wuruk, in the first place the Nāgara Kērtāgama, are exceptions. They will be discussed separately.

Under the present head two *kakawins*, probably belonging to the post-Kaḍiri period of Old Javanese century, are registered. Both are versifications in Indian metres of older prose texts. On the whole the unknown poets followed their model faithfully, in some cases differences and inserted passages are noticeable, however.

In Javanese literary history versification of texts which originally were written in prose was practised more than once. Perhaps the tendency of giving all important literary works a poetical form originated in the period of consolidation of amalgamated Javanese-Indian culture in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the course of Javanese history it gradually increased in strength. In the eighteenth and nineteenth century classical renaissance period, writing books in verse was the rule and writing prose was an exception (see 00040).

The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa *kakawin* (other name: Përthu Wijaya) is an adaptation in Indian metres of the Old Javanese prose purāṇa of the same name which has been discussed in Part Two, History and Mythology, of the present Synopsis (20.220). Gonda's edition (KBG, Bibl. Javanica vol. 5 and 6, 1932 and '33) contains both the prose text and the *kakawin*.

The Kuñjara Karṇa *kakawin* has for model the prose text of the same name. It is a moralistic didactic Buddhist text, registered in Part One, Religion (13.010).

Poerbatjaraka suggested (BKI vol. 107, 1951, p. 201) that the Kuñjara Karṇa *kaka-*

win was meant by Prapañca in his Nāgara Kērtāgama (canto 94) where he mentions Sugata Parwa Warṇana as the name of one of his other poems. Prapañca belonged to a family of Buddhist ecclesiastics.

30.111 Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa *kakawin*, metric version of the prose text:

cod. 3730 (= 4159), 4160, CB 90 (Përthu Wijaya).

30.112 Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa *kakawin*, fragments:

cod. 4161, 4162.

30.113 Kuñjara Karṇa *kakawin*:

cod. 5023-II (= 10.512 = BCB prtf 22).

30.120 N ā g a r a K ē r t ā g a m a (major *kakawin*, group A). In the reigns of the fourteenth century Majapahit Kings, especially in King Hayam Wuruk's time, Old Javanese Court literature had a last flourishing period. A most remarkable *kakawin*, at present called the Nāgara Kērtāgama, was written in 1365 by the poet Prapañca, who belonged to a family of Buddhist Court scholars. The poem, originally called Déśa Warṇana, Description of the Country, is a panegyric for King Hayam Wuruk. But it contains so many paragraphs on the Court, the Royal family, religious institutions and so on, that it is a mine of information on fourteenth century Java. The book has already been discussed in Part Two, History, of the present Synopsis (20.400).

Several Dutch scholars worked on Nāgara Kērtāgama editions and translations; the first of them were Dr Brandes and professor Kern. The present author's "Java in the "Fourteenth Century" (1960-1964) contains an annotated English translation.

30.121 N ā g a r a K ē r t ā g a m a (Déśa Warṇana):

cod. 5023-IV (which is the only available manuscript = KITLV Or 350).

30.125 *Arjuna Wijaya* (major *kakawin*, group A). In the Nāgara Kērtāgama the poet mentions some more of his poems i.a. Śakābda or Śaka Kāla. The latter name is found as the name of a short *kakawin* in an Amsterdam collection. As the contents of that poem make its fourteenth century origin improbable, it has been registered under a later head (30.210), dealing with younger *kakawins* written in the Old Javanese literary idiom by modern, perhaps nineteenth century, Balinese authors.

In the reign of King Hayam Wuruk of Majapahit, beside the Nāgara Kērtāgama some other *kakawins* were written. They are of the usual narrative epic kind. Their author is called Tantular, probably a pen-name, like Tanakuṣ and Prapañca. Mpu Tantular was interested in Buddhist literature. Whether he belonged to a prominent ecclesiastic family, like his contemporary Prapañca, is unknown.

The Old Javanese *Arjuna Wijaya* by mpu Tantular was much appreciated by Javanese authors. In the Pasisir period it was incorporated in the Sērat Kaṇḍa compendiums of tales. The well-known *Arjuna Sasra Bahu* or *Lokapala* (see 31.020) of the eighteenth century is an adaptation of the fourteenth century *kakawin*. The subject-matter is found in the Uttara Kāṇḍa, the last book of the Sanskrit Rāmāyaṇa (see 30.170). It is the struggle of the epic heroes *Arjuna Sahasra Bāhu* and *Paraśu Rāma*. An unknown twelfth century Kaḍiri Court poet wrote a poem on the same subject (see 30.065). Interrelationship of the two Old

Javanese *kakawins* is as yet unproven.

30.126 *Arjuna Wijaya*, Balinese tradition, complete or nearly complete:

cod. 2210, 3137, 3634 (= 4068), 4065, 4066 (= 7228 = BCB prt 22).

30.127 *Arjuna Wijaya*, Balinese tradition, fragments:

cod. 4069, 4985, 5133.

30.128 *Arjuna Wijaya*, Javanese tradition: *cod.* 2048.

30.130 *Suta Soma, Puruṣāda Śānta* (major *kakawin*, group A). Mpu Tantular also wrote the *Suta Soma kakawin*, with reference to the contents called *Puruṣāda Śānta*, the Man-eater Appeased. It is a Buddhist edifying tale, showing a remote resemblance to the Indian *Suta Soma jātaka*. In the Old Javanese *kakawin* the hero, a Bodhisatwa incarnation, offers his own body as food for the man-eating demon King *Kalmāṣa Pāda*, who in the end is converted.

The *Suta Soma* tale was well-known to Javanese authors of the Majapahit period. It is mentioned in other Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese texts. The General Index contains references to relevant manuscripts.

The Old Javanese *kakawin* will be edited, translated and annotated by Ensink. The editor has noted considerable discrepancies between the plots of the Indian *Puruṣāda Śānta jātaka* and the Old Javanese *kakawin*. Evidently the Javanese poet had ideas of his own on the subject (see J. Ensink, "The 'Old Javanese Cantaka Parwa and its tale 'of Sutasoma'', KITLV, in preparation).

30.131 *Suta Soma, Puruṣāda Śānta*, *kakawin*, complete or nearly complete text:

cod. 2211, 3716 (= 4525), 4522 (= 7226), 4523, 4524; with glosses: *cod.*

4526 and 4528 (sequence); fragment:
cod. 4527.

Udyālaka, and ascribed to mpu Tanakuṅ.
Pati Brata, Uddālaka:
cod. 10.130 (Krt 2148).

30.132 The *Wṛtta Sañcaya* (major *kakawin*, group A) is also called *Cakrawāka Dūta*: The *Cakrawāka*-birds as Messengers, with reference to the romantic tale which serves as a frame. The ducks are asked by a girl who has been deserted by her lover to go in quest of the truant. In fact the *kakawin* is a didactic poem on Indian prosody; it contains samples of Indian metres. In Part Four of the present Synopsis (46.250) some scholarly prose texts on metrics will be discussed. The *Wṛtta Sañcaya* has been classed in the present Part Three, *Belles-Lettres*, on account of its poetical form and its artistic value. The poet was mpu Tanakuṅ, who, according to Zoetmulder, lived in the middle of the fifteenth century. He has also some lyrical poems to his name (see 30.170).

The *Wṛtta Sañcaya* was edited, translated into Dutch and annotated by professor Kern, in 1875 (reprint in “*Verspreide Geschriften*”, i.e. *Collected Works*, vol. 9). Poerbatjaraka’s “*Kapustakan Djawi*” (p. 34) contains some notes on the fate of the *kakawin* in a later period of Javanese literary history. *Wṛtta Sañcaya*:

cod. 3712 (= 3950), 4686, AdKIT 1137/1, AdKIT 2751/1.

30.133 The *Pati Brata* (major *kakawin*, group A) is a short moralistic poem referring to conjugal fidelity. It is also called *Uddālaka* or, in the Javanese-Balinese idiom,

30.134 The *Lubdhaka* (major *kakawin*, group A) is another poem by mpu Tanakuṅ. It contains the Indian myth of the bad hunter who once on a dark night unwittingly strewed holy *wilwa* leaves over a Śiwa Linga monolith standing under the *wilwa* tree, and as a reward was admitted into Śiwa’s divine abode. In India the myth is connected with the annual Śiwa Rātri religious celebration on the 27th of February. The Old Javanese ritual has been described and discussed by Hooykaas “*Āgama Tīrtha, Five Studies “in Hindu-Balinese Religion”* (Amsterdam 1964). It is to be hoped that an edition of the *Lubdhaka* by Teeuw and Zoetmulder will be available before long.

In Poerbatjaraka’s opinion (“*Kapustakan “Djawi”*”, p. 37) mpu Tanakuṅ’s Royal patron, who in the beginning of the poem is called Girindra Warṣaja, was Kèn Aṅrok, the first King of the Siṅasari dynasty. In historical literature Kèn Aṅrok is called a son of Śiwa (Girindra). Zoetmulder has discovered that the real name of Tanakuṅ’s patron was Sura Prabawa. This King is also mentioned in a charter dated 1473 A.D. This renders it plausible that Tanakuṅ lived in the fifteenth century.

Lubdhaka:

cod. 3616 (= 4296), 5023 (compendium, containing i.a. the *Nāgara Kērtāgama* = 10.511 = BCB prtf 22); with interlinear glosses: *cod.* 3745 (= 4298 = BCB prtf 22), 4299; fragments: *cod.* 4297, 4300.

30.135 Old Javanese *kakawins*, minor poems (group B, 30.020).

The number of minor *kakawins* written in the Old Javanese poetic idiom is considerable (see 30.020). On account of the absence of indications of the poet's or the Royal patron's names and dates, it is very difficult to class them. Probably some of them were still written by Javanese authors living in the reigns of the last Majapahit Kings, in the fifteenth century. Other *kakawins* seem to be the work of Javanese-Balinese poets who lived at the Courts of Kings of Bali where the literary tradition was continued after the collapse of Old Javanese culture in Java.

As a rule they have for subjects well-known tales taken from older Javanese literature, in the first place the Old Javanese prose versions of Mahābhārata books, Ādiparwa etc. In minor points the *kakawin* poets sometimes deviated from the original texts. The divergences never were so considerable, however, as in the case of the wayang-theatre plays which were made in Java in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries out of elements of ancient epic tales (see 31.080).

Under the following heads (30.136—30.169) some *kakawins* which may still date from the Majapahit period are registered (group B). In some cases the tales were used as the subject-matter of reliefs in stone on the walls of temples built for members of the Royal Family of Majapahit. In his book on "Hindoe-Javaanse Kunst" professor Krom indicated several epic tales which were used to that end. Though the possibility of the reliefs being older than the now available *kakawin* texts is undeniable, the relief-scripts

anyway are so many proofs of the existence of the tales in Majapahit literature.

The Pārtha Yajña contains an account of Arjuna's wanderings on the way to mount Indrakila, in order to find weapons for the struggle with the Korawas, after the game at dice. It is a poetical version of part of the third Mahābhārata book, Wana Parwa. Poerbatjaraka made an extensive Dutch epitome of the poem (TBG vol. 58, 1919), which appears on the stone reliefs of caṇḍi Jago, in East Java.

The nineteenth century Parta Yagña poem (see 31.231) seems but remotely related to the *kakawin*.

30.136 Pārtha Yajña:

cod. 5024.

30.140 The Kalayawanāntaka (minor *kakawin*, group B) is also called Kr̥ṣṇa Wijaya. It contains the tale of Kalayawana who ousted Kṛṣṇa from his Royal residence; in the end he was vanquished. Brandes supposed that some stone reliefs of caṇḍi Jago were meant to be illustrations of the tale of Kalayawana's death. On account of this identification the Kalayawanāntaka might be considered as belonging to the same period as the Pārtha Yajña.

30.141 Kalayawanāntaka *kakawin*:

cod. 5104 (= BCB prtf 23).

30.145 Hari Śraya and Hari Wijaya (minor *kakawins*, group B) are epic poems on Wiṣṇu's victories over the enemies of the gods. The tale of the Hari Śraya is borrowed from Uttara Kāṇḍa, the last Rāmāyaṇa book. Wiṣṇu vanquishes Malyawan and his brothers; only Sumali makes

his escape. Poerbatjaraka ("Kapustakan "Djawi", 1952, p. 55) mentions the poem as the last one of his list of Old Javanese *kakawins*.

The Hari Wijaya contains the well-known myth of the churning of the ocean and Wiṣṇu's victory over the demon Ratmaja. It is found in the Ādiparwa; it was a popular tale in Javanese-Balinese literature.

30.146 Hari Śraya:

cod. 3888-II (= 10.878 = BCB prtf 164), 4234, 4235 (= BCB prtf 23).

30.147 Hari Wijaya:

cod. 4239 (= 10.723).

30.150 The Kṛṣṇāntaka (minor *kakawin*, group B) is based on Āśramawāsa, Mosala and Prasthānika Parwa tales of Mahābhārata. Evidently the poet's idea was to sing the death of Kṛṣṇa. The Kṛṣṇāyaṇa, Hari Waṇśa and Kalayawanāntaka contain also tales of Kṛṣṇa's life and exploits.

30.151 Kṛṣṇāntaka:

cod. 4258 (= BCB prtf 23).

30.155 The Ratna Wijaya (minor *kakawin*, group B) contains the Mahābhārata tale of Suṇḍa and Upasuṇḍa, enemies of the gods. The nymph Tilottamā was sent to seduce them. They killed each other out of jealousy.

30.156 Ratna Wijaya kakawin:

cod. 3888 (= BCB prtf 23 = 10.878 = BCB prtf 164).

30.160 Wighnotsawa and Brata Sraya (minor *kakawins*, group B). Buddhist tales were seldom chosen by Old Javanese poets as subject-matter of *kakawins*. The Kuñjara Karna *kakawin* is a poetic version of an existing prose texts. The

following poems have Buddhist religious legends as subject matter, but extensive prose versions are not in evidence. The same is the case with the Suta Soma (30.130).

The Wighnotsawa has for subject the struggle of Jina Wikrama, also called Supraséna, with the yakṣa King Wighnotsawa, who in the end is subdued. The Brata Sraya contains the same tale. It seems to be a younger version. The Supraséna tale is referred to in the Old Javanese encyclopedic work Cantaka Parwa (see 46.510). So is the Suta Soma tale.

30.161 Wighnotsawa:

cod. 3631 (= 4679 = BCB prtf 23).

30.162 Brata Sraya:

cod. 4163 (= BCB prtf 23).

30.165 The Siṅha Laṅgala (prose and minor *kakawin*, group B) has Buddhistic features: the princess Kāma Rūpinī of Siṅha Laṅgala, who is desired and attacked by two brothers, is said to be a Buddhist. The tale seems to be vaguely allegorical, referring to the interrelationship of various Indian religious denominations.

Probably the prose text is the original one. The *kakawin* text is a later version. The tale might have been written in approximately the same period as the Korawāśrama, i.e. in the fifteenth century, or even later.

30.166 Siṅha Laṅgala Parwa, in prose:

cod. 10.554 (= BCB prtf 43 B: KBG lontar 858).

30.167 Siṅha Laṅgala kakawin:

cod. 1913 (= 10.517 = BCB prtf 23).

30.168 The Subhadra Wiwāha, also called Pārthāyana and the Abhimanyu Wiwāha are versifications of epic tales which, in a later period, also were

made into wayarj purwa plays. It seems likely that the poets of these kakawins, who probably lived in the sixteenth century, or even later, were familiar with the lore of the wayarj purwa performers.

Subhadra Wiwāha, or Pārthāyana:

cod. BCB prtf 25 (Krt 141).

30.169 Abhimanyu Wiwāha:

cod. CB 40, BCB prtf 26 (Krt 80).

30.170 Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese lyric poetry.

In the whole of Javanese literature, both pre-Islamic and Muslim, lyrics occupy a rather insignificant place. The major part of Javanese poems is either narrative (epical, romantic or historical) or didactic (religious, moralistic, scholastic etc.). The comparative insignificance of lyrics in Javanese literature is a consequence of the small importance attached to individuals and personal sentiments, and the preponderance in the Javanese mind of social and cosmic unity and order. Compared with the all-pervading sense of the majestic unity of cosmos and human society, any stress, at least in high literature, on the description of individual sentiments and psychic conflicts seemed petty and superfluous.

In Javanese and Balinese literature lyrics are mostly connected with poetical descriptions of scenery and the grandeur of nature. This characteristic feature finds its explanation in the importance of the idea of cosmic unity and interrelationship of all beings, feelings and conditions in the Javanese mind.

The fundamental idea of unity and order in all human and cosmic relations was also a prohibitive bar to the development of a sense of tragedy. In Java and Bali the extensive theatrical literature connected with the wayarj performances never developed into tragedies in the classic European sense of the word.

It is true, indeed, that sometimes lyrical passages do occur in Javanese epical and romantic poems. Even vague indications of tragic conflicts in the hearts of heroes and heroines may be found in some poems. But the general trend of Javanese literature is not lyrical or tragic, but epical, narrative or didactic.

Apart from lyrical passages inserted in long narratives some minor groups of Javanese poems contain expressions of personal sentiments which might be called lyric. In the province of religion several mystic songs, in the Islamic period called *suluks*, are expressive of religious sentiments couched in a lyric form. The mystic songs have been discussed in Part One, Religion (14.900).

In the field of common human love erotic lyrics are in evidence in Java just as much as they are in the literature of any other people with a comparable civilization. But in Java purely erotic lyric poems are scarce in high literature. As a rule they are relegated to the sphere of popular poetry; sometimes they are in doggerel verse, not meant to be preserved in books for long (see 31.380).

It is remarkable fact that by way of exception some authors wrote short erotic lyric poems in the Old Javanese poetic idiom, using Indian metres. A well-known series of these short lyric *kakawins* is as-

cribed to Nirartha, who is also considered as the author of a moralistic didactic poem, the Nirartha Prakërta (see 13.710B). In Bali he was venerated as the first brahmin who settled on the island, which is un-historic. In Poerbatjaraka's opinion the Prakërta was written in East Java in the middle of the fifteenth century. Nirartha is also mentioned in connection with the Manuk Abha poem (see 30.310). Tanakun, another fifteenth century poet, and Salukat were also authors of short lyric *kakawins*, according to Balinese literary tradition.

Some Javanese-Balinese lyrics in *tengahan* and *macapat* metres are also registered under the present head. They may have been written not much later than the lyric *kakawins*.

Javanese lyric poetry written at the Central Javanese Courts in the nineteenth century will be discussed in 31.160 and 31.170. In a way it is comparable with the present Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese lyrics.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *erotics*, *lyrics*, *lulunġid*, *Nirartha*, *Tanakun*, *Salukat*.

30.171 Short lyric *kakawins*, called Añan Nirartha:

cod. 3913 (= 10.519 = BCB prtf 24), 3881-IV/XII (= 10.520 = BCB prtf 24), AdKIT 2751/2.

30.172 Lyric poems, Tanakun, Nirartha:

cod. CB 153 (Krt 524 = BCB prtf 25).

30.173 Pañdan Mati:

cod. 5268 (= 10.524 = BCB prtf 24 = 10.592 = BCB prtf 67).

30.174 Lamban Salukat:

cod. 3810 (= 3992, glossed = 10.526 = BCB prtf 24), 3912.

30.175 Lamban Pawukiran, Ratna Pawukiran:

cod. 10.032 (Krt 1929), 10.208 (Krt 2257).

30.176 Lyric *kakawin* stanzas:

cod. 5380, 5382, 8665.

30.177 Sañu Tanġis:

cod. 3741 (= 10.528 = BCB prtf 24).

30.178 Jayendriya, Javanese-Balinese lyric erotic poem in *tengahan* metre:

cod. 3790 (= 3901), 4216, 4217, CB 59 (compendium, with musical notes), BCB prtf 46, 11.060.

30.179 Jayendriya, in Indian metres:

cod. 9612 (Krt 1075).

30.180 Rañmi Sañcaya, Javanese-Balinese lyric erotic poem in *tengahan* metres:

cod. 3891 (= BCB prtf 185), 9686 (Krt 1204).

30.181 Lulunġid poetry, Javanese-Balinese lyric poems in *tengahan* metres:

cod. 3980-II (Bramara Sañu Pati = 10.494 = BCB prtf 16), 5025 (compendium), 5401, 9451 (Sewa Darma, Krt 765), 9453 (Ratna Wiwarjana, Krt 767).

30.182 Javanese-Balinese lyric poetry in *tengahan* metres, miscellaneous:

cod. 3809 (= 4705 = 10.485 = BCB prtf 13), 4700, 9841 (Krt 1560, Kasmara), 10.153 (Krt 2172, Pañlila Wiñit), 10.274 (Krt 2362, Eñan Wiranġon).

30.183 Javanese-Balinese lyric poetry in *macapat* metres, descriptions of scenery:

cod. 9990 (Krt 1851, Kidun Kamurañan), 10.098 (Krt 2064, Gaguritan Sasawañan).

30.184 Javanese-Balinese songs of female dancers:

cod. RtMLV 11715 (Geñdin Sañyan).

30.190 Javanese-Balinese kakawins (group C, 30.020).

About 1500 A.D. the supremacy of Islam and Muslim literature in the sphere of Javanese culture was established, and henceforth the ruling classes of Java proper were followers of the Prophet. Probably there is truth in Javanese and Balinese historical tradition saying that, when the power of the Muslim merchant-princes rose, Old Javanese Royalty, nobility and the Indian-Javanese clergy emigrated to Bali in order to continue living in a familiar sphere. Perhaps this influx into Bali strengthened the traditional Old Javanese faction, so as to enable the conservatives to check the introduction of Islam into the island in the same way as it was introduced elsewhere in the Archipelago.

In Java, since about 1500 A.D. a new Islamic belletristic literature developed. It will be described in the second half of the present Part Three of the Synopsis (30.460 ff.). First, however, (30.191—30.447) the development of the Old Javanese literary tradition in the islands of Bali and Lombok, isolated in a henceforth Muslim Archipelago, is to be discussed.

On the whole, Balinese authors continued writing in the Old Javanese literary idiom which they mastered sufficiently well, but in the seventeenth century and afterwards, being Balinese by birth, they began to introduce Balinisms and neologisms into their work. In the present Synopsis the latter idiom is called Javanese-Balinese. It is to be distinguished from the proper Balinese literary idiom, which developed in the same period and under influence of Javanese-Balinese (see 00020, sub B, on the history

of Balinese literature). In Balinese proper, grammatical formations are different. In the present Synopsis of Javanese Literature works written in Balinese proper are not discussed. There are borderline cases, however, texts with a mixed idiom. For the sake of completeness such texts are included.

Neither Javanese nor Balinese authors were at any time at a loss for subjects of narrative poems. The inexhaustible collection of tales of the Indian epics, especially Mahābhārata, made accessible by the Old Javanese prose versions of the Parwas, was used as a mine of subject-matter for the making of new *kakawins*. Balinese authors continued to write epic poems in the Old Javanese style for a considerable time, while their Javanese contemporaries wrote narrative poems in a modernized Javanese style, using native Javanese metres.

Probably the reigns of the Gèlgèl and Klungkung Kings of South Bali in the sixteenth, seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries constituted the flourishing period of Javanese-Balinese epic and romantic poetry. Lyrical and didactic poems also were written in that period. Beside the ancient Indian prosody, metres of native Javanese origin were cultivated (cf. 30.170). But then, in the nineteenth century, some Balinese authors seem to have been inspired again to follow the models of the Old Javanese *kakawins* with Indian metres. It is difficult to determine to which period of Bali written Javanese literature any given *kakawin* belongs.

It is a remarkable fact that a considerable number of the *kakawins* registered under the following heads (30.191—30.214) were un-

known to Dr van der Tuuk, at least they are not found in his collection, which is representative for nineteenth century Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese literature known in North Bali. Probably the texts which are not found in the van der Tuuk collection partly belonged to the literature of South Bali and Lombok, partly they did not yet exist, being written after van der Tuuk's death in 1894.

Javanese-Balinese *kakawins* of the nineteenth century were contemporaneous with the later Pañji romances and various other romances written in *tĕġahan* verse or in mixed macapat metres which will be discussed under subsequent heads of the present Synopsis (30.320).

Both Balinese and Javanese poets of epic narratives had connections with their national wayaṅ theatres. For a considerable part wayaṅ plays were made out of episodes of the epics. In Bali the theatrical literature was less developed than in Java, and as a rule Balinese wayaṅ play performers kept closer to the original epic tale than later Javanese ḡalaṅs did. The lengthy Javanese narrative poems of the nineteenth century were very much influenced by the theatre, which is apparent in the introduction of *panakawan* roles. Even in Balinese *kakawins* written in the Old Javanese style some influence of the wayaṅ theatre in modifications and insertion of scenes seems probable.

Under the following heads *kakawins* of relatively recent date written in the Old Javanese literary idiom are registered. Probably practically all of them were written in Bali or Lombok, at least not in the period of the Majapahit Kings, nor by Javanese Court poets. In 30.020 the Javanese-Balinese

kakawins of this kind have been mentioned as belonging to group C of minor *kakawins* (see also 30.135).

The *Dewātma* seems to be partly narrative romantic, partly didactic. The *Aṅga Bañcana* is completely allegorical. It deals with the struggle of passion and holiness for supremacy in the human soul.

30.191 Dewātma:

cod. 4194 (= 10.515 = BCB prtf 23), 4195, 4196, 4197 (fragments).

30.192 Aṅga Bañcana:

cod. 4050, 4051 (= 10.510 = BCB prtf 22), 5373 (in prose).

The *Wirāṭa Wijaya* and *Aranyaka Parwa* are poetical versions of well-known Mahābhārata episodes. Both seem to be of recent date, perhaps nineteenth century. The *Garuḡa* is only a fragment.

30.193 Wirāṭa Wijaya:

cod. CB 66 (= BCB prtf 25, Krt 648).

30.194 Aranyaka Parwa:

cod. RtMLV 28.857 (= 10.757).

30.195 Garuḡa kakawin:

cod. 4698 (= 10.525 = BCB prtf 24).

The *Indra Wijaya* and the *Wĕrtāntaka* contain the tale of Indra's victory over the demon Wĕrtra, and the episode of Nahuṣa. The three texts which are found in the manuscripts are different.

30.196 Indra Wijaya, Prajāpati Suta Ni-yata, Nahuṣa Parājaya:

cod. 5102 (= BCB prtf 22), 10.262 (Krt 2346).

30.197 Wĕrtāntaka:

cod. BCB prtf 26.

The *Indra Bandana*, on Indrajit vanquishing Indra, seems to be of very recent date. Perhaps it was written in the first years of the twentieth century.

30.198 *Indra Bandana*:

cod. 9410 (= BCB 25, Krt 688), 10.189 (= CB 55, Krt 2228).

The *Naraka Wijaya* contains the tale of Bhoma's victory over Druma, who takes refuge with Kṛṣṇa. Bhoma's exploits are also the subject of the Bhoma Kāwya or Bhomāntaka, which is a *kakawin* probably belonging to the Kaḍiri period (see 30.060).

30.199 *Naraka Wijaya*:

cod. BCB prtf 26 (Krt 591).

The *Kāṇḍawa Wana Dahana*, the Burning of Kaṇḍawa Forest, deals with a well-known epic tale. Probably the poem was made by a Balinese poet of the nineteenth century.

30.200 *Kāṇḍawa Wana Dahana*:

cod. BCB prtf 25, CB 60 (Krt 338), RtMLV 17544.

The *Ḍimbi Wicitra*, a version of the epic tale of Bhīma and Hiḍimbā, is evidently recent. The influence of the wayaṅ-play performers' art is apparent in the corruption of names, adapted to the Balinese idiom (Hiḍimbā, I Ḍimba, Ḍimbi, with a female ending on -i).

30.202 *Ḍimbi Wicitra*:

cod. CB 57, BCB prtf 25 (Krt 700).

The *Wiśālāgni*, also called *Śalāgni*, contains an Arjuna Sahasra Bāhu tale, like the Old Javanese Arjuna Wijaya (see 30.125). It is unfinished.

30.203 *Wiśālāgni*:

cod. CB 44 (= BCB prtf 26).

The *Ambāśraya* contains an epic tale of Bhīṣma, Ambā and Paraśu Rāma. It has probably been made in Bali in the nineteenth century, or even later.

30.205 *Ambāśraya*:

cod. CB 94, BCB prtf 26 (Krt 454).

The *Irawantaka* apparently is another Balinese *kakawin* connected with the wayaṅ theatre. It contains a tale of Irawan, Arjuna's son. It is also called Pārtha Wijaya.

30.206 *Irawantaka, Parta Wijaya*:

cod. 10.210 (Krt 2259).

The *Surāntaka* is a poetic version of a Pāṇḍawa tale. Probably it was written in Bali in the nineteenth century or even later. It shows some relationship with a wayaṅ play.

30.207 *Surāntaka*:

cod. BCB prtf 26 (Krt 157).

Balinese authors did not severely restrict themselves to subjects found in ancient epic literature. Apparently they sometimes gave free range to their imagination, constructing new tales with elements borrowed from classic works. In Java authors of wayaṅ plays and narrative poems connected with the wayaṅ theatre used the same method.

In the prologue of his poem the Balinese author of the *Ambara Madya* acknowledges his indebtedness to Javanese literature for the subject of his poem on a Pāṇḍawa war with an unrighteous King.

30.208 *Ambara Madya*:

cod. CB 93 (= BCB prtf 26 : Krt 646).

The author of the *Wiraga Salaga* was a native of Tabanan, South Bali. His poem turns on marriages of human suitors with nymphs from heaven. Wiraga Salaga

is such a nymph. The tale ends abruptly.

30.209 Wiraga Salaga:

cod. 9710 (Krt 1272).

The Śaka Kāla is a short *kakawin* on the struggle of Rāwaṇa and Māruta. In the Nāgara Kērtāgama śakābda or Śaka Kāla is mentioned as the name of another of Prapañca's works. It is not certain at all that the present Śaka Kāla is the fourteenth century poem in question. The codex contains two other short *kakawins*, most probably of recent date.

30.210 Śaka Kāla:

cod. AdKIT 1382/2 (= BCB prtf 164).

The Saṅ Hyāṅ Kāla is an example of the Balinese authors' aptitude at making new versions of old tales. The poem contains the myth of the man-eater Kāla being exorcised by Guru and Śrī riding on a bull, which is very popular in Bali. Probably the poem is not old at all.

30.211 Saṅ Hyāṅ Kāla:

cod. 10.118 (Krt 2101).

The Dharma Kusuma, the Rāma Paraśu Wijaya and the Rāma Kaṇḍa are again based on ancient epic tales. The authors were Balinese connoisseurs of the wayaṅ theatre. A Dharma Kusuma tale in prose is registered in 30.219.

30.213 Dharma Kusuma:

cod. 9982 (Krt 1840).

30.214 Rāma Paraśu Wijaya and Rāma Kaṇḍa (Śatruḡhna):

cod. 3887, CB 43, BCB prtf 25 (Krt 586),
CB 41 (= BCB prtf 26, Krt 628, Rāma
Kaṇḍa).

30.215 Javanese-Balinese epic prose tales. Beside the Old Javanese *kakawin* tradition, the Old Javanese line of epic tales in prose, beginning with the prose versions of Mahābhārata parwas (see 20.100), was also continued by Balinese authors. They wrote prose adaptations of well-known Old Javanese epic poems, and epic tales in Javanese-Balinese literary prose style, probably related to wayaṅ plays.

The Javanese-Balinese epic prose tales seem to have been written in the nineteenth century, or even later. They are comparable with the later belletristic romances, poetical versions of epic tales, which are registered under another head of the present Part Three (30.320).

30.216 Ratna Kaṇḍa, Purusada and Sutasoma tale in prose:

cod. 9159 (Krt 133).

30.217 Sida Budi Tatwa, prose tale of Arjuna's descendants:

cod. 9454 (Krt 772 = CB 91).

30.218 Wacana Bérawa, prose tale of alterations of Bérawa with the Pāṇḍawas:

cod. 3854 (= 10.469 = BCB prtf 8), 5111.

30.219 Dharma Kusuma, prose tale of Yudhiṣṡhira, before the Wirāṡa episode:

cod. CB 98.

30.220 Arjuna Pramada, prose tale of the Pāṇḍawas fighting Durga Kala Muka:

cod. 9077 (Krt 4 = BCB prtf 43A =
CB 61).

30.221 Windu Sara, prose tale of the Pāṇḍawas' quest for a jewel:

cod. 9604 (Krt 1059).

30.225 Original Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese belletristic literature, exorcist tales.

Under the preceding heads (30.000—30.214) belletristic poetry of originally Indian inspiration, written in the Old Javanese poetic idiom, and put in Indian metres, has been discussed. It was the literature of Era A of Javanese cultural history. The texts which are registered in the following paragraphs (30.225—30.447) belong to Era B, called in 00020 the Javanese-Balinese period. Their literary idiom is mainly Javanese-Balinese (see 00030, group 2). The next paragraphs (30.225—30.260) will deal with original Javanese belletristic works in prose or in verse. They are distinguished from the *kakawins* in three respects. Firstly, as far as they are written in verse, indigenous Javanese metres of the *tengahan* or *macapat* kind are used. The *kakawins* were written in originally Indian metres. Secondly, they contain Javanese tales which are connected with indigenous mythology and religious concepts. The *kakawins*, mainly belletristic, are based on Indian religion. Thirdly they probably belong to the literature of religious communities spread over the country. The *kakawins* were written by Court poets for the delectation of Kings and courtiers.

The texts to be discussed under the next heads contain mainly tales referring to exorcist rites connected with ancient myths. Therefore they have been called *exorcist tales*. Their relationship with *wayang*-play literature is apparent: originally *wayang* performers were officiants of religious rites connected with exorcism of evil powers (see 31.190). Almost all tales contained in the present poetical or prose texts are also known

in the form of *wayang* plays. In Part One, Religion, of the present Synopsis (12.400) several texts on exorcist rites have been registered. Some of these religious texts are related to the present exorcist tales, e.g. the *Calon Araṅ*. The literary character of the tales and poems is evident, though; therefore they are discussed separately in the present Part Three, Belles-Lettres.

A few *kakawins* of relatively recent date are also related to *wayang* plays, but the exorcist character of the poems does not come out clearly. Therefore they have been discussed with the other *kakawins* under the preceding heads (see 30.080).

The dates of the exorcist tales in prose and in verse are as difficult to ascertain as the dates of the *kakawins*. Probably the tales, belonging to indigenous Javanese religious tradition, were for a long time transmitted only orally. Originally they may have belonged to the sacred and secret lore of a group of exorcists, related to the *wayang* play performers of later times. Some of the present tales in prose and in verse seem to be the products of fifteenth or sixteenth century Javanese authors, others were written in East Java and in Bali in a later period.

The *Calon Araṅ* contains the tale of the exorcism of a witch, *Calon Araṅ*, by a wizard, *mpu Bharada*, who was believed to have been a contemporary of the eleventh century East Javanese King Erlangga. The prose text of the *Calon Araṅ* is the oldest. It has been edited and translated into Dutch by Poerbatjaraka (BKI vol. 82, 1926). The mythic background is discussed in the present

author's "Javaanse Volksvertoningen" and "Java in the XIVth Century" (see the indexes).

In Bali the Calon Araṅ tale is very popular; it is connected with the *baroṅ* exorcism. Several poetical texts, written in Bali in various metres, are in evidence. In the General Index relevant manuscripts have been registered under the catchword *Calon Araṅ*.

30.226 Old Javanese Calon Araṅ, prose:

cod. 4561, 4562, 5279, 5387.

30.227 Calon Araṅ, poetical version in *tēṅgahan* metre:

cod. 3581 (= 3963-V), 3784 (= 3934 = 4563 = 10.471), 4564, 4565.

30.228 Calon Araṅ poetical version in *adri* metre:

cod. 3948-V, 4566, 4567.

30.229 Calon Araṅ, poetical version (marked n.b.) in *durma* metre:

cod. 3612, 4569.

30.230 Calon Araṅ, poetical version in *durma* metre, variant:

cod. 4568 (version n.), 9594 (Krt 1047).

30.231 Calon Araṅ fragment:

cod. 10.668 (the original was illustrated).

30.235 The *S u d a M a l a* is another mythic poem, containing the tale of Durga being exorcised by Sadéwa, the youngest of the Pāṇḍawa brothers. Evidently the tale is closely related to Javanese wayaṅ plays. This was justly remarked by van Stein Callenfels, who edited the poem and translated it into Dutch ("De Sudamala in de "Hindu-Javaansche Kunst", KBG vol. 66, 1926). The tale is the subject-matter of a series of reliefs in stone on the walls of caṇḍi Téga Waṅi in East Java, which dates

from the fourteenth century. Apparently at that time the *Suda Mala* tale was well-known. The metre used in the *Suda Mala* is an original Javanese, so-called *macapat* metre (see 00050).

30.236 *Suda Mala*:

cod. 3893, 3991, 4515, 4516, 4517, REM 22-1.

30.240 The *S r i T a ṅ j u ṅ* poem is located in the Javanese district of Bañuwaṅi or Blambangan, opposite the island of Bali. It is known also in Bali itself. The *Sri Tañjuṅ* and the following poems are not strictly exorcist tales. They turn on dangerous quests for spiritual treasures, medicines, Water of Life and esoteric wisdom, to be found in the world of the gods. Probably these tales are at least partly of indigenous Javanese origin, related to ancient myths of cultural heroes (cf. 30.275). The *Sri Tañjuṅ* is written in original Javanese metres. The poem was edited and translated into Dutch by Prijono ("Sri Tañjuṅ, een Javaans ver-haal", 1938). In Dr van der Tuuk's opinion the *Suda Mala* and *Sri Tañjuṅ* poems belong to the same period.

30.241 *Sri Tañjuṅ*, older Javanese versions:

cod. 3126 (= 10.646 = 10.651), 3184 (= 4513 = 10.652), 3623 (= 3866), 3801 (= 4499), 3863, 4500 (= 10.647), 4501 (= 10.648 = 10.653), 4502 (= 10.649 = 10.654). A Roermond Ms. mentioned by Prijono (p. 24*) is lost.

30.242 *Sri Tañjuṅ*, *Stri Tañjuṅ*, Balinese versions:

cod. 3749 (= 4503), 4504, 4505, AdGUB 58.

30.243 *Sri Tañjuṅ*, Bañuwaṅi versions:

cod. 4506 (= 4507 = 7217 = 10.655),

4508, 4509 (= 10.650 = 10.656), 4510 (= 7217 = 10.657), 4511, 4512, 6582.

30.245 The *Warga Sari* tale is also located in Java. The hero is a wandering student who visits many masters in holy lore and in the end reaches Majapahit, the capital. The poem seems to contain a streak of allegory: it is the tale of a quest. The *Warga Sari* might be considered an early specimen of the vagrant students' romances. The *Jatiswara*, *Cabolaṅ*, and *Cēṭṭini* poems are the best known books of that genre in Javanese literature of the Islamic period (see 30.560 and 30.780). The vagrant students set out for foreign parts on a quest for wisdom. In this respect they are comparable with the heroes of the *Sri Tañjun* and *Nawa Ruci* poems and the like, who are sent out on a quest for medicines or spiritual treasures.

In the *Warga Sari* poem a *těḡahan* variety of Javanese verse, which was used by Balinese authors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is applied. It is not impossible that there existed an earlier version of the poem, in a simpler metre, but if so, nothing of the kind has come down to us.

30.246 *Warga Sari*:

cod. 3584 (= 3922), 3614 (= 7219 = BCB prtf 171), 3713 (= 4649 = 10.490 = BCB prtf 13), 3915-II (= 10.497 = BCB prtf 16), 4650, 8384.

30.247 *Warga Sari*, variant Balinese version:

cod. 3724, 4651, 4652, 4653.

30.250 *Nawa Ruci*. The tale of Bhīma's adventures during his quest for the Water of Life, sent by Droṇa, and his meeting with Déwa Ruci in the ocean, was considered as an account of a profound religious mystery.

It is mentioned in the *Cabolèk* discussions on Islamic mysticism (see 15.200) side by side with the *Arjuna Wiwāha* (*Minta Raga*, see 31.000). Both tales have modernized versions in the literature of Java proper and of Bali; they are discussed separately under the heads *Bima Suci*, *Déwa Ruci* and *Minta Raga* (see 31.040). The Islamic legend of *Sèh Malaya* (24.570) shows a remarkable resemblance to the *Bhīma* tale.

In older Javanese-Balinese literature the *Nawa Ruci* tale is known in a prose redaction and in *těḡahan* verse. The prose text, together with a probably recent *kawi mirin* redaction (see 30.904), has been edited and translated into Dutch by Prijohoetomo ("Nawa Ruci, Middel-Javaanse prozatekst", 1934). In the opinion of Poerbatjaraka ("Déwa Roetji", in *Djāwā*, vol. 20, 1940) both the *kawi mirin* text and the prose text are secondary versions, based on an imperfectly known old poetic text, written in simple verse.

30.251 *Nawa Ruci*, *Tatwa Jñāna Nirmala*, prose:

cod. 4342, 4343, 4344, 5096, 5178, 5372.

30.252 *Nawa Ruci*, prose, concise version:

cod. 3921 (compendium), 4345.

30.253 *Nawa Ruci*, *těḡahan* verse:

cod. 3620 (= 4346, *ḍiṅḍaṅ* verse), 3799 (= 4347, *Kaḍiri* metre).

30.254 *Awa Ruci*, Javanese-Balinese poem, *macapat* verse:

cod. 9636 (*Krt* 1129).

30.255 The *Subrata* poem contains the tale of adventures of a wandering student. The available text seems to have been written in Bali in the eighteenth century. It may be an adaptation of an older book. It contains

speculative and didactic passages and also paragraphs of an encyclopedic informative character, like the Javanese Jatiswara and Cēṇṭini poems. Poerbatjaraka has discussed the Subrata in his “Kapustakan Djawi” (1952). It is written in Javanese metres of the macapat kind.

30.256 Subrata:

cod. 3746-II (= 10.487 = BCB prtf 13),
4514, 8601 (KBG CS 165).

30.260 The available text of the Saṅsa-
tyawan poem seems to be of Blambangan,

East Javanese origin. The metres used by the poet are of the macapat kind. In the tale, referring to the intercourse of a divine being with a mortal woman, exorcism is mentioned frequently. The poem may be based on a myth. The name of the hero Saṅsadyawan is unexplained. There is some reason to suppose that it is an original Javanese name, not connected with the Sanskrit word *satya*.

30.261 Saṅsadyawan:

cod. 3699 (= 4467 = 10.486 = BCB
prtf 13).

30.275 Javanese-Balinese religious and edifying poetry and fables.

In Part One of the present Synopsis, Religion (13.000—13.700), several Javanese-Balinese didactic and moralistic texts have been discussed. With respect to their trend and contents the poems which are registered under the following heads are closely related to these religious texts. They are discussed in the present Part Three, Belles-Lettres, on account of their belletristic form. In several cases the Balinese authors used intricate metres of the tēḡahan kind, and artificial poetic embellishments. Many poems contain a tale, albeit a very simple one, which serves as a frame of the lessons and speculations.

The age of the belletristic literature with a religious tendency which is discussed under the following heads is not less difficult to ascertain than that of many other products of Javanese-Balinese authors. On account of the use of tēḡahan metres perhaps some poems of the kind can be dated in the eighteenth century, in the flourishing period of the Gèlgèl and Klunḡunḡ kingdoms. Other

poems might be much younger, written in the nineteenth or even in the twentieth century.

Under the present head some poems referring to quests for wisdom or deliverance have been collected (cf. 30.240). Their connection with Balinese religion is evident. Some of them may contain elements of ancient myths, descriptions of wanderings in the world beyond the grave, which are found also in Javanese-Balinese treatises on religious ritual (Plutuk, Putru, 11.510—11.530) and in Javanese-Balinese didactic poetry (Ḍaḍarḡ-ḍuḍarḡ, 13.900).

30.276 Jaya Praméya, tēḡahan verse:

cod. 4207, 4208, 3979-III (= BCB prtf
11).

30.277 Kēṛta Jñāna, tēḡahan verse:

cod. 9396 (Krt 659).

30.278 Kuda Paṅṛiman, mixed tēḡahan and
macapat verse:

cod. 6251 (= 10.675 = BCB prtf 153).

30.285 Belletristic edifying

p o e m s. Balinese authors wrote several belletristic works containing edifying religious lessons and speculations. Like the poems discussed under the preceding head, they are related to religious texts which have been registered in Part One (see 13.000, 13.400—13.700). Some of them seem to have also a streak of lyricism (see 30.170).

A majority of the poems registered under the present head seem to be products of nineteenth or even twentieth century Balinese poets.

Probably *Wita Rāga* ("Disappearance of Sensuality") is the original form of *Minta Raga*, the name of the eighteenth century Central Javanese version in *macapat* metres of the eleventh century Old Javanese *Arjuna Wiwāha kakawin*. Between the Javanese-Balinese *Wita Rāga* poem in *těḡahan* verse and the *Arjuna Wiwāha* no relationship is apparent.

30.286 *Aṇḍa Branta*, in *těḡahan* verse:
cod. 9315 (Krt 471).

30.287 *Wita Raga*, in *těḡahan* verse:
cod. 3884, 3980 (= 10.498 = BCB prtf 16), 4684 (= 10.491), 9615 (Krt 1083).

30.288 *Darma Parita*, in *těḡahan* verse:
cod. 9368 (Krt 588).

30.289 *Darma Wulaḡun*, in *těḡahan* verse:
cod. AdGUB 57.

30.290 *Darma Paṇuwusan*, commentary on *Darma Wulaḡun*:
cod. 9882 (Krt 1619).

30.291 *Darma Panamar, Arta Daya*, in *těḡahan* verse:
cod. 9297 (Krt 419), 9402 (Krt 673).

30.292 *Pramana Sura*, in *těḡahan* verse:
cod. 9478 (Krt 824).

30.295 *Fables in verse*. The Old

Javanese prose collection of fables referring to statecraft called *Kamandaka* has been discussed in Part One of the present Synopsis (13.120). The book is based on the Indian *Pañcatantra*. In the pre-Islamic period of Javanese cultural history some fables were used as scripts of stone reliefs adorning the walls of East Javanese temples. The whole genre of Indian fables in Javanese literature is discussed by Hooykaas ("Tantri, de "Middel-Javaansche Pañcatantra-bewerking", 1929).

In the course of time two poetical versions were made. Both are called *Tantri*, after the girl who tells the tales to the King in order to dispel his spleen. She has the same role in the frame story as *Sheherezade* has in the *Arabian Nights*. The two versions differ in the variety of *těḡahan* metre used by the poets. One variety is called *Kaḡiri*, the other one *děmuḡ*. According to Hooykaas the *Kaḡiri* version is the older one, following the Old Javanese prose text *Kamandaka* more faithfully than the *děmuḡ* version (see 00050).

Probably the *Tantri* poems date from the flourishing period of Javanese-Balinese literature in the reigns of the *Gělgěl* and *Kluḡkuḡ* Kings.

30.296 *Tantri fables in Kaḡiri metre*, complete or nearly complete:

cod. 3618, 4536, 4537, 4538, 4539, 4540.

30.297 *Tantri fables in dėmuḡ metre*, complete or nearly complete:

cod. 3132, 3577 (= 3885 = 4541 = 10.492 = KITLV Or 351), 4542, 4543, 4544, 4975, UtrRUB IndSt Hs 1 D 16.

30.298 *Tantri fables, Javanese-Balinese, in dėmuḡ metre*, incomplete, mostly with Balinese interlinear glosses:

cod. 3738 (= 4546), 3758 (= 4548), 3815, 4545, 4547, 4549.

30.299 Maṇḍūka Prakaraṇa, Rāga Wināśa, Tantri tale, dēmuṛ metre:

cod. 9614 (Krt 1082).

30.300 Cantri and Bayan Budiman fables. The wide spread of Indian fables in South East Asia is well-known. In the period of the interinsular Pasisir culture, Indian fables, often in Islamic garb, were spread in Malay versions. Probably the authors of later Javanese-Balinese and Javanese books of fables were acquainted with foreign versions of the tales.

In the present Synopsis only two later books of fables of Indian inspiration are discussed: the Cantri and the Bayan Budiman. Probably both date from a period later than the time of the Tantri dēmuṛ.

The name of the Cantri book is reminiscent of the Tantri. The second half of the text contains tales which are found also in the Bayan Budiman. Hooykaas's book on the Tantri (1929) contains notes on Cantri and Bayan Budiman. In fact the Bayan Budiman belongs to Javanese Pasisir literature. Its prototype is the Persian Tuti Nama. It has been registered under the present head on account of its close connection with the Cantri tales.

In Javanese literature a group of autochthonous animal fables, having the chevrotin (Javanese *kañcil*) for hero, is known. The *kañcil* stories, originally belonging to popular narrative literature, will be discussed under

a separate head of the present Part Three (31.400).

30.301 Cantri tales in kanya Kaḍiri metre:

cod. AdKIT 1141/1.

30.302 Cantri tales in macapat metres:

cod. 4579.

30.303 Bayan Budiman in macapat metres:

cod. 1822.

30.310 Romantic allegoric poetry. Probably animal fables from the Tantri books furnished the inspiration for the poet of the Manuk Abha, the Speaking Bird. In Malay literature romantic allegoric fables with birds as personages are known also (see: Van Ronkel, "Het Gedicht "De Vogels" ", Med. KNAW, Lett. vol. 53). So they are in Javanese speculative literature. Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *birds*.

The Manuk Abha poem is known in two versions: one in Indian metres and another one in tēṅgahan verse. The appearance of Balinese musical notes, and the fact of the poet Nirartha being mentioned in one manuscript, point to a connection of the Manuk Abha poem with lyrical poems of the kind as discussed under a previous head (30.170).

30.311 Manuk Abha, romantic allegoric kakawin:

cod. 3783 (= 4326 = 10.527 = BCB prtf 24), 4327, 4328 (fragment).

30.312 Manuk Abha, romantic allegoric poem in tēṅgahan verse:

cod. 3856, 5350, 9511 (Krt 897).

30.320 Romances connected with epics, wayang theatre and exorcism, gaguritans.

The study of Old Javanese texts was continued for centuries in Bali; it was not interrupted by Islam, as it was in Java. Whereas in Java in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries modernized Javanese versions of the old epics were indispensable in order to render the tales intelligible, in Bali the original Old Javanese texts still were sufficiently well understood. Nevertheless in the nineteenth century Balinese authors also made modernized versions of old epics, partly in the vernacular Balinese (which are not discussed here), partly in the Javanese-Balinese literary idiom. They are fairly numerous. Under the present head some modernized Javanese-Balinese poetic versions of Old Javanese texts are collected. In Bali they are called *gaguritans*, irrespective of whether they are written in Balinese or in the Javanese-Balinese literary idiom. The metres used are of the *tengahan* and *macapat* kinds (see 00070).

In Part Two, History, several historical romances, called ballads, are discussed (20.700). The Old Javanese prose chronicle *Pararaton* (20.420) has a poetic version. Probably the *gaguritans* mentioned under the present head belong to a somewhat later period than the ballads. The nineteenth century *gaguritans* are pre-eminently belletristic.

The Javanese-Balinese Tantri poems, being versions of the Old Javanese prose *Kamandaka*, are comparable with the present *gaguritans*. They form a large group of texts by themselves; therefore they have been discussed under a previous head (30.295).

30.321 *Sumanasāntaka* in *tengahan* verse:

cod. 3722 (= 4521 = 10.480 = BCB prtf 12), 9375 (*Krt* 609).

30.322 *Korawāśrama* in *tengahan* verse:

cod. 3979 (= BCB prtf 11).

30.323 *Adiparwa kiduṅ*, in *tengahan* verse:

cod. 3917-II (= BCB prtf 20).

30.330 *Wayang romances*. In Javanese-Balinese literature epic tales developed on the one side into independent romantic poems, and on the other into plays for the *wayang* theatre. A similar development is apparent in the literature of Java, which will be discussed under separate heads (30.900 and 31.080). But in Bali the theatrical literature, the plays, were not put in writing as extensively as they were in eighteenth century Java. So Javanese-Balinese epic romances are the most conspicuous specimens of the later development of classic tales on Balinese soil. They are comparable with the epic prose tales, which have been registered under 30.215 of the present Part Three.

Javanese-Balinese epic romances, closely connected with the *wayang purwa* theatre, belong to the same sphere as the *Pañji* romances (see 30.360), which also have a connection with theatrical art. A few poets borrowed subject-matter for romantic poems from the store of native Balinese folk-tales, partly connected with *Pañji* tales (see 30.410). Another group of Javanese-Balinese romantic literature is based on historical tales: the ballads. They have been discussed separately (see 20.700) on account of their relation with history.

As usual the age of the romances is diffi-

cult to ascertain. Perhaps some of them, being closely connected with wayaṅ exorcism, are adaptations of old tales. They may date from the eighteenth century. Others seem to be much younger, the work of late nineteenth century poets. As a rule the poems written in tēḡahan verse are older than those written in macapat metres.

30.331 Arjuna Pralabda in tēḡahan verse, version A:

cod. 2298, 3589 (= 4060 = BCB prtf 11).

30.332 Arjuna Pralabda in tēḡahan verse, version B:

cod. 3771, 3802 (= 4061 = 10.493 = BCB prtf 16).

30.333 Kuṇṭi Yajña in tēḡahan verse:

cod. 3917 (= BCB prtf 20).

30.334 Candra Bérawa in tēḡahan verse:

cod. 3979-II (= BCB prtf 11).

30.335 Prigël in various metres:

cod. 9701 (Krt 1245).

30.336 Kala Gumantuḡ in agal metre:

cod. 9526 (Krt 1499).

30.337 Guwa Gala-gala in tēḡahan verse:

cod. 9821 (Krt 1500).

30.340 Wayaṅ poems connected with exorcism. Originally the Javanese and Balinese wayaṅ theatre was closely connected with religious exorcist rites. Still a considerable number of wayaṅ plays turn on exorcism of evil beings and victory over demons. Bhīma and Arjuna are the classical heroes who most frequently appear as central figures in wayaṅ plays with a positive exorcist tendency, though other personages also can fill that part.

Under some preceding heads (30.225—30.260) ancient tales which are partly also exorcist texts (Calon Araṅ, Suda Mala etc.)

have been registered. These texts seem to belong to the indigenous Old Javanese tradition, probably they are related to ancient myths. The wayaṅ exorcist tales listed under the present head, however, have more affinity with epic tales of originally Indian inspiration.

Regarding the central figures of epic exorcist texts and related wayaṅ plays, Bhīma and Arjuna, there is a warranted suspicion that, in Java and Bali, Bhīma and Arjuna were given characters which originally belonged to indigenous Javanese mythic heroes or gods. Their exploits as described in Javanese wayaṅ plays and romances are different from their deeds according to the epics of Indian inspiration. In Java, Bhīma in particular has traits of an old-time nature god, and Arjuna has characteristics in common with the hero of the Pañji romances. There is small doubt that Pañji was originally an autochthonous culture hero (see 30.850 and Rassers, "Pañji, the Culture Hero", 1959).

Viewed in this light the difference between Old Javanese exorcist texts of the Calon Araṅ type, Javanese-Balinese and later Javanese epic romances, and wayaṅ plays with exorcist tendencies is not fundamental. All have the idea of struggle against evil powers and victory by means of religious exorcist rites or practices in common.

Under the present head Javanese-Balinese epic wayaṅ purwa romances in macapat metres are collected. They are remotely comparable with the (perhaps older) prose tales which have been discussed under a previous head (30.215). The exorcist tendency of the poems is mostly clearer. The age of the texts is uncertain. Though the priority in time of the poems in tēḡahan metre, registered under

the preceding head, seems probable, the difference cannot be great. The Kuṇṭi Yajña (30.333) and the Waṅbaṅ Astuti (30.341) are closely related. The Purwa Saṅara is a compendium of epic tales, remotely comparable with seventeenth and eighteenth century Javanese Sĕrat Kaṇḍa texts (see 22.900—23.100). Like the other groups of Javanese-Balinese romances mentioned under the preceding heads, the present exorcist poems may date from the eighteenth century at the earliest.

30.341 Waṅbaṅ Astuti:

cod. 3708, 3869, 3977 (= BCB prtf 12), 4640, 4641.

30.342 Bima Swarga, complete or nearly complete:

cod. 3816 (= 4132 = 10.481 = BCB prtf 13), 3975, 9078 (Krt 6), 9591 (Krt 1042).

30.343 Bima Swarga, fragments:

cod. 3832, 3833, 4133, 4134, 4135, 4138.

30.344 Bima Swarga, with strong Balinese influence:

cod. 4136, 4137, 9692 (Krt 1227).

30.345 Bima Buṅkus:

cod. REM 3405-17.

30.346 Purwa Saṅara:

cod. 9318 (Krt 484).

30.347 Paṇḍawa tale in macapat verse:

cod. BCB prtf 46 (3).

30.348 Paṇḍu kĕnĕṅ śāpa, Daśa Paṇḍawa:

cod. 9611 (Krt 1073).

30.360 Javanese-Balinese Pañji romances.

Another group of Javanese-Balinese poetical romances is formed by the Pañji romances (see 30.330). Pañji or Apañji is an old title. As usual its value fluctuated through the times. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in the Majapahit kingdom, it was a title of princes of the blood. So the hero who appeared in the romantic tales written in this period, or shortly afterwards, was given the title Pañji, Prince, which soon was used as a name.

Pañji romances always turn on the quest of the hero for his beloved and betrothed princess, who is lost or abducted or simply has gone on a journey. In the end the two are always united. Dr Rassers ("De Pandji "Roman", 1922, English abstract in "Pañji, "the Culture Hero", 1959) directed attention to the mythic background of the tales. In his opinion the hero and his beloved are representatives of the moieties of a tribe,

belonging to a pristine indigenous social organization. The myth which found its best known literary expression in the Pañji romances of the fifteenth century and later is, according to Dr Rassers, also apparent in many other Javanese tales of all periods of literary history. Under the head Damar Wulan the relation between some pseudo-historical romances referring to political history, and ancient Javanese mythology will be discussed (see 30.850).

Probably there is much truth in Dr Rassers's profound dissertation on the Pañji myth. Appearance in a literary form as late as the fifteenth century, at the end of the pre-Islamic period, is also noted in the case of the Calon Aras, the Suda Mala and similar exorcist tales. Their origin is mythic too. Perhaps the late appearance of those old mythic tales in a literary form is to be explained as follows. In the turbulent period

of the decline of pre-Islamic authority in Java and the rise of Islam, religious awe and reticence with regard to ancient myths decreased, so as to make it possible for authors to use the tales as subject-matter of literary works.

In the flourishing period of the Javanese Pasisir culture, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Pañji romances were widely spread over the Archipelago and the coasts of Further India. Poerbatjaraka's book on the Pañji tales (Bibliotheca Javanica, KBG vol. 9, 1940) contains most valuable information on this point. In his opinion a Pañji romance dealing with the meeting of the hero with *dèwi Angrèni*, written in East Java about 1400 A.D., was the prototype of the numerous Pañji romances in various languages, even in the South East Asian mainland.

Poerbatjaraka also called attention to the similarity between passages and names occurring in Pañji romances and in Islamic *Ménak Amir Hamza* tales (see 30.460). The spread of the *Ménak Amir Hamza* tales over many islands of the Archipelago dates from the beginning of the Islamic period, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The popularity of the *Ménak* tales may have been increased by the wide spread of the Pañji romances, which are older.

In Bali the production of Pañji romances flourished to a high degree. The hero's exploits and amorous adventures were multiplied and descriptions of Court scenes were extended. In Bali the Pañji romances were used as texts of theatrical performances by male dancers, often wearing beautifully carved wooden masks. The literary value of many Javanese-Balinese Pañji romances is

small. Most of them are written in *těgahan* verse (see 00050). One compendium of Pañji tales called *Malat Kuṇ* — after one of the hero's epithets — is above all things remarkable for its length. Poerbatjaraka's book contains a complete summary.

The dates of the numerous Javanese-Balinese Pañji romances are difficult to ascertain. Probably the majority of them was written in the flourishing period of the *Gělgěl* and *Kluṅkuṇ* kingdoms. It is not certain at all that the *Malat* compendium belongs to the oldest group of Pañji romances. It is discussed under the present head before the other poems, merely on account of its length. It is the major Javanese-Balinese compendium of Pañji tales. Almost all *Malat* palm-leaf manuscripts are incomplete, because it is impossible to keep a great number of palmleaves together on one string. Dr van der Tuuk tried to reconstruct a complete text (see Brandes' Catalogue of van der Tuuk's mss. 1915, vol. 2). Codexes containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *Malat* and *Pañji*.

The Javanese Pañji romances, which belong to the Pasisir period of the history of Javanese literature, are registered in 30.870 ff.

30.361 *Malat Kuṇ*, major compendium of Pañji tales, in *těgahan* verse, greater parts of the text:

cod. 1881, 2061, 2214, 2280 (fragment), 3120, 3585 (= 4311), 3595 (= 4309), 3597, 3604, 3630, 3670, 3710, 3714 (= 4313), 3721, 3737, 3785 (= 4304), 3800 (= 4312), 4302, 4303, 4304, 4305, 4306, 4307, 4308, 4310, 4314, 4315, 4316, 4317, 4318, 4319 (almost complete), 4320 (almost

complete), 4983, 5012 (= 10.878-I = BCB prtf 188), 8476, 9006, 10.878-II (= BCB prtf 163), CB 13, KHA O 2, AdKIT A 4846/c, AdKIT A 4846/d, AdKIT H 965, AdGUB 53, RtMLV 773.

30.362 Malat Kuṛ, with Balinese inter-linear glosses:

cod. 3627 (= 3919).

30.363 Malat Kuṛ, variant versions:

cod. 4321 (version X), 4322 (version Y), 4323 (version Z), 3841-XII (version Z).

30.364 Malat Kuṛ, harmonization of van der Tuuk's manuscripts:

cod. BCB prtf 15, BCB prtf 17, CB 119 A, B.

30.370 Minor Pañji romances in tēṅahan verse. In addition to the voluminous Malat Kuṛ compendium many minor Pañji romances were written by eighteenth and nineteenth century Balinese poets. Probably in several cases the authors borrowed plots for their romances from old folk-tales, which they embellished and amplified with products of their own imagination. The same method was employed by nineteenth century Javanese authors, but then, in Java, romances connected with the wayaṅ purwa heroes, Arjuna and his family, were more popular than Pañji tales, so the Javanese authors invented wayaṅ plays. In many cases both the Javanese-Balinese Pañji romances and the Javanese wayaṅ plays deviate a great deal from their classic models, the lives of Radèn Pañji, prince of Kahuripan, and of Arjuna, Paṇḍu's son.

As a rule Javanese-Balinese Pañji romances were written in tēṅahan verse (see 00070). In Bali the tēṅahan kind of metre was used especially in lyrical poems and

further in romantic poetry of the Malat Kuṛ genre. The tēṅahan metres and the Javanese-Balinese Pañji romances probably flourished at the same time.

But then, in the second half of the nineteenth century, Balinese literati began to abandon the tēṅahan fashion. Later Javanese-Balinese Pañji romances were written in macapat metres, which for a long time had already been in use with writers of historical ballads and didactic poems.

The Javanese-Balinese Pañji romances suggest, by their contents, that the social background of the poets was a Court with Javanese traditions, but without an exact knowledge of the history and the geography of Java. On account of these facts it seems impossible to date the Javanese-Balinese Pañji romances in an early period, or even as late as the seventeenth century, for probably at that time Balinese Kings and noblemen still had connections with East Javanese local rulers, and some solid knowledge of things Javanese still must have prevailed.

Several Javanese-Balinese Pañji romances are frankly erotic. Departure from the classic model of the Pañji tales is found in a majority of the romances which have been registered under the present head. Appearance of the hero in animal shape is frequent.

30.371 Wasèṅ Sari, in tēṅahan verse:

cod. 3586 (= 4669), 3644 (= 4668), 3645, 3705 (= 4667), 4665 (= BCB prtf 10), 4666, 4670, 4671, 5092, 5437, dHMvO 47.705.

30.372 Waṅbaṅ Widéha, first version:

cod. 3610 (= 7227 = BCB prtf 10), 3633 (= 4642 = BCB prtf 10), 3647 (= 4644), 3715, 3779 (= 4645), 4643, 4646.

- 30.373** Waṅḅarj Widéha, second version :
cod. 3643 (= 4647 = 10.470 = BCB prtf 10), 4648.
- 30.374** Uṇḁakan Paṅrus :
cod. 3192 (= BCB prtf 163), 3666 (= 4607 = 10.489 = BCB prtf 13), 3733 (= 4610), 3752 (= 4608), 3770, 3914, 3969, 4606, 4609.
- 30.375** Smara Wédana :
cod. 3726 (fragment), 4496 (= 10.503 = BCB prtf 18), 4497, 4498.
- 30.376** Indra Wismara :
cod. 5044 (= 10.472 = BCB prtf 11), 5388 (= BCB prtf 163).
- 30.377** Siṅa Brahmara :
cod. 3592 (= 4490 = 10.488 = BCB prtf 13).
- 30.378** Misa Gagaṅ :
cod. 4339 (= BCB prtf 12).
- 30.379** Mantri Wadak :
cod. 3587 (= 4325), 3720 (= 4324 = BCB prtf 10).
- 30.380** Kuda Rawi Sandi :
cod. 9669 (Krt 1194).
- 30.381** Lěmbu Raga :
cod. 9758 (Krt 1387).
- 30.382** Smara Wijaya :
cod. 5017 (= BCB prtf 11).
- 30.383** Marga Smara :
cod. 3600 (= 4330), 4329 (= BCB prtf 11).
- 30.384** Ḍaṅḁarj Pětak :
cod. 3656 (= 4178), 3709 (= 4180), 4177 (= BCB prtf 11), 4179.
- 30.385** Mantri Wěka :

cod. RtMLV 23734 (fragment).

30.390 Minor Pañji romances written in macapat metres seem to have even more affinity with folktales than those written in tēḡahan verse. In some cases it is difficult to distinguish between these so-called Pañji tales and the romantical poems to be discussed under the next head. Probably some popular poems in macapat metres are products of authors living in Lombok, the neighbouring island which was partly conquered and colonized by East Balinese noblemen in the eighteenth century.

In several Javanese-Balinese romances collected under the present and the following heads macapat and tēḡahan metres alternate. In fact the two kinds are not fundamentally different, and in Java rather obsolete macapat metres were called tēḡahan (see 00070). Therefore the metres used in some of the minor Javanese-Balinese romances might be called mixed.

30.391 Mantri Jawa :

cod. 3952.

30.392 Cili Naya :

cod. 4587 (= 10.615 = BCB prtf 71), RtMLV 2506.

30.393 Ḍaṅḁarj Irěḡ :

cod. 3818 (= 4176), 4175 (= 10.482 = BCB prtf 13).

30.394 Marut Smara :

cod. 9369 (Krt 596).

30.395 Pañji Sěmirāḡ, from Lombok :

cod. 10.253 (Krt 2327).

30.400 Javanese-Balinese romances with various contents.

Beside Pañji romances several romantical poems, only occasionally or not at all refer-

ring to the popular hero, are known in Javanese-Balinese literature. Well-known story

motives, found in many folk-tales and narrative works of Javanese and foreign origin, return continuously. Influence of works belonging to the interinsular Pasisir literature, and well-known in the form of classical Malay prose tales, is apparent.

Under the present head some relatively classic Javanese-Balinese romances are collected. The Aji Darma tale, about the King who understood the language of the animals, is remarkable for its resemblance to Indian texts and its relationship with the Javanese Pasisir poems *Aṅliṛ Darma* and *Sèh Mardan* (30.700 and 30.690).

The metres used in the texts collected under the present head are partly *těḡahan*, partly *macapat* or mixed. Probably the romances date from the eighteenth or the nineteenth century, though the subject-matter is much older.

30.401 Aji Darma, in mixed *těḡahan* and *macapat* metres:

cod. 3590 (= 4012 = BCB prtf 16), 4011, 4013 (= 10.504 = BCB prtf 20).

30.402 Ajar Pikatan, in *těḡahan* verse:

cod. 3619, 3667, 4010 (= BCB prtf 10).

30.403 Durma, in *macapat* metres, first version:

cod. 3657 (= 4227), 3696, 3734, 3821, 4225 (= 10.484 = BCB prtf 13), 4226, 4228, 4229.

30.404 Durma, variant version:

cod. 3671 (= 10.483 = BCB prtf 13).

30.405 Kěrtā Samaya, in *těḡahan* verse:

cod. 4267 (= BCB prtf 11), 4268.

30.406 Měnur Wilis, in *těḡahan* verse:

cod. 4238 (= 10.501 = BCB prtf 18).

30.410 Later romances, folk-tales. In the nineteenth century, beside

the tradition of Old Javanese prose tales (see 20.100 and 30.215) and Old Javanese *kakawins* (see 30.000 and 30.190), also the line of classical poetic romances (30.400) was continued. The subject-matter of later Javanese-Balinese romances is often borrowed from native folk-tales; moreover repetitions of scenes found in older texts are frequent.

Under the present head later, probably nineteenth or even twentieth century Javanese-Balinese poetical romances are collected. Some are related to lyrics, others are comical and farcical; eroticism often is in evidence. As a rule the authors used common *macapat* metres, but some poems are in *těḡahan* verse. Balinese poets wrote several comparable humorous and farcical romances, based on folk-tales, in Balinese. In the present Synopsis of Javanese literature the tales which are wholly Balinese, however interesting, are not discussed.

The Javanese-Balinese texts contain many Balinese words and expressions. The *Èṇḍèr* tale seems to be partly of Blambangan origin. The district of Blambangan or Bañuwari, East Java, opposite the island of Bali, was in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ruled by noblemen who had close connections with the Balinese Courts.

30.411 *Aṅluṛ Smara*, lyric erotic romance:

cod. 3829 (= 3897-II), 4059 (= 10.499 = BCB prtf 18), 9631 (Krt 1112).

30.412 *Aréka Suruh Warji*, in *těḡahan* verse:

cod. 3865 (= BCB prtf 16).

30.413 *Raṅḡa Lèlèḡèh*:

cod. 3784-II (= 3984-II = 7222 = 10.473 = BCB prtf 11).

30.414 *Lubaṅ Kori* (Gulubaṅ Kori):

cod. 3725 (= 3975-IV), AdKIT H 968.

30.415 Èṇḍèr (Jagul Anom), farcical, in tēṇahan verse:

cod. 3792, 3984, 4230, 5345 (= 10.707 = BCB prtf 189), 5435 e (compendium).

30.416 Cupak (and Grantar), farcical, in tēṇahan verse:

cod. 3655 (= 4588), 4589 (fragment), 3794 (= 4590, variant version).

30.417 Cupak (and Grantar), farcical, in macapat metres (Balinisms):

cod. 3729 (= 4592), 4591, 10.180 (Krt 2213).

30.418 Maliṇ Tēba, in macapat metres:

cod. 9623 (Krt 1099).

30.419 Mani Guna, in macapat metres:

cod. 9624 (Krt 1101).

30.420 Kuṇḍar Diya, in macapat metres:

cod. 3915 (= 10.495 = BCB prtf 16), 4273, 4274, 4275, 9490 (Krt 845).

30.421 Sandiyaka, in macapat metres:

cod. 10.091 (Krt 2055).

30.422 Gusti Wayahan, in macapat metres:

cod. 3582-III (= 3972-III).

30.423 Radèn Saputra, in macapat metres:

cod. 3676, 4435 (= 10.643 = BCB prtf 78).

30.424 Radèn Putra, in macapat metres:

cod. AdKIT A 4851/a (fragment).

30.425 Smara Wijaya, panegyric of the Karaṅ Asēm Court in macapat metres:

cod. 9839 (Krt 1546), 9840 (Krt 1547).

30.426 Historical romance:

cod. dHMvO 43708.

30.430 Romances from Lombok.

In the eighteenth century Balinese authority became dominant in a great part of Lombok, and since that time Javanese-Balinese literature had a flourishing period under the patronage of the wealthy Balinese Kings and noblemen of the island. They ruled over the Muslim Sasak people.

In Lombok several Old Javanese texts, imported from Bali, were studied and copied by scholars belonging to the Balinese ruling class. Moreover, some Balinese authors wrote Javanese-Balinese romances, continuing the literary tradition of their home country.

Under the present head some Javanese-Balinese romances, probably of Lombok origin, are collected. They have been attributed to Lombok authors, chiefly because the manuscripts have been found in that

island. The possibility of a mistake is admitted.

30.431 Téja Rasa:

cod. 9842 (Krt 1561).

30.432 Sri Wulan:

cod. 10.154 (Krt 2173).

30.440 Javanese-Balinese and Javanese-Sasak Islamic romances. In Bali and Lombok the Muslim communities developed a religious and a historical literature of their own, connected with the international tradition of Islam. Javanese-Balinese Islamic religious texts have been discussed in 16.800 and Javanese-Balinese histories of Lombok in 22.700.

Under the present head Javanese-Balinese romances showing traces of Islamic influence are collected. Probably most of them were

written in Lombok, in Muslim communities, existing since the seventeenth century, and in the eighteenth century coming under the influence of Javanese-Balinese literature. Some Islamic romances may have been written in Bali. In several cases borrowing of stories from the stock of Islamic romantic tales, in the Archipelago available in Malay versions, seems probable.

The present Javanese-Balinese romances are comparable with Islamic romantic poems written in East Javanese Pasisir districts (Grěsik and Surabaya) and Madura in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see 30.560).

Of course the major religious histories, Anbiya etc. (21.700) and Islamic romantic narratives, Ménak Amir Hamza tales (30.460) were also read in Bali and Lombok. Copies of these well-known books made in Bali and Lombok are not discussed separately under the present head.

As a rule Javanese-Balinese Islamic romances are written in macapat metres.

30.441 Labu Darma:

cod. 3665 (= 4281 = 10.627 = BCB prtf 74), 3808 (= 4282).

30.442 Labar, Kara:

cod. 10.342 (Krt 10.092), REM 1627-I, AdKIT 997/35.

30.443 Sipat Iman Akun:

cod. 4491.

30.444 Puspa Kërma:

cod. 3683 (= 10.620 = BCB prtf 72), 10.339 (Krt 10.089), Teeuw 1.

30.445 Gajah Kumuda:

cod. 9568 (Krt 1008), 10.169 (Krt 2194).

30.446 Banṭer, Raga:

cod. 10.310 (Krt 10.107).

30.447 Ambar Kawi:

cod. 10.155 (Krt 2174).

30.460 Pasisir Literature. The Islamic epic cycle of Ménak Amir Hamza.

In the sixteenth century Islam was in the ascendant in Java. New classes of Muslim rulers, merchants and divines took over the command in the North Coast mercantile towns. Part of the pre-Islamic Old Javanese aristocracy, clergy and rural gentry accepted the inevitable and were amalgamated with the new classes. Many middle-class Chinese families, since long settled in Java, may have been converted. Others may have gone away. Probably the spread of Islam and a rejuvenating increase of the leading classes by rising men of humble descent, and foreigners, were complementary phenomena in sixteenth century Javanese society.

In all provinces of literature Muslim influence was apparent. The efflorescence of romantic tales of travels to foreign parts, which is a feature of seventeenth and eighteenth century Pasisir literature, was stimulated by the juvenile adventurous spirit of the rising Muslim mercantile and ruling classes, partly of foreign origin.

In the following paragraphs (30.460—30.884) mainly literary texts belonging to Era C of Javanese cultural history, called in 00020 the Pasisir period, are registered. Their literary idiom is East Javanese and Pasisir Javanese (see 00030, groups 3 and 4).

In the first place the Islamic epics are to be discussed. The hero is Amir Hamza, a historic personage, an uncle of the Prophet. In Arabic-Persian and Indian literary works his warlike and amorous exploits were sung by numerous poets, so as to make him the legendary champion of the Faith in many Islamic areas of South East Asia. Perhaps a Malay prose version of Amir Hamza's life was read in Muslim communities in the western part of the Archipelago as early as the fifteenth century. "De Roman van 'Amir Hamza", by professor Van Ronkel (1895) deals with the spread of the tales in South East Asia and the Islands. The Ménak romances contain a great number of names of Kings, princes, princesses and countries. In the Javanese versions they are very much corrupted, but in many cases their foreign (to wit: Persian-Indian) origin still is apparent.

In the sixteenth century Islamic literature of several kinds was introduced in Java in a Malay garb, and probably the first Javanese Amir Hamza tales were versions of Malay originals. In Java the hero was given the ancient Javanese title Ménak and the whole cycle of Islamic epic tales was called the book of the Ménak. Beside Amir Hamza himself, his sons and grandsons also appear in later invented and appended tales.

The similarity of some personages of Javanese Ménak books and Javanese-Balinese Pañji tales was noticed by Poerbatjaraka ("Beschrijving der Handschriften, Ménak", 1940, p. 3). Mutual influence of the two cycles seems probable. Their spread over many countries of the Archipelago is contemporaneous, and both groups of romantic tales are characteristic for sixteenth and seven-

teenth century international Pasisir culture. But the Pañji tales are original products of East Javanese poets and the Ménak romances are of foreign origin. Perhaps in some cases familiarity with the Pañji character made acceptance of Ménak tales in Javanese narrative literature easy. Similarities of Pañji tales with some other romances (Yusup, 30.520, and Asmara Supi, 30.670) are also remarkable (see 30.850).

In Java, Ménak tales were put on a par with autochthonous romances, so that the hero was given a pair of *panakawans*, mentors and cunning servants, of the same kind as the heroes of the wayang plays and the Pañji tales. In Javanese Ménak tales the *panakawans* are called Marmaya, or Umar Maya, and Marmadi, or Umar Madi. Originally the names belong to historic personages belonging to the entourage of Muhammad. In the Javanese Ménak tales and in the special kind of wayang theatre presenting those tales, called wayang golèk, the two cunning servants show genuine Javanese *panakawan* characters (see the present author's paper "The Romance of Amir Hamza 'in Java'", in Bingkisan Budi, Festschrift van Ronkel, Leiden 1950, p. 235).

Probably Ménak tales were known in Java already in the seventeenth century. In the course of time many passages were enlarged, and new episodes were added. Several additions were very much admired; they developed into independent romances. Perhaps older tales belonging to the Pañji cycle exercised their influence in this development.

Almost all Javanese Ménak romances have been discussed and epitomized by Poerbatjaraka in his "Beschrijving" (1940) and his "Indonesische Handschriften" (1950).

Probably in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Ménak romances were written and read especially in the North Coast districts and in East Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok. They are characteristic for the Pasisir culture which flourished in those parts. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries their popularity did not wane. Moreover at the Central Javanese Courts, first in Kartasura, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, compendiums of Ménak romances were written. The most extensive one is the work of the well-known Surakarta Court poet Yasadipura. It will be discussed under a separate head together with the other products of the Surakarta literary renaissance of the eighteenth century (31.060).

The popularity of the Ménak romances in many circles of Javanese society in the nineteenth and twentieth century is apparent from the naming of boys and girls after heroes and heroines of the Amir Hamza tales, which is noticed frequently. Perhaps this use of names borrowed from Ménak romances was promoted by the preference for these tales shown by female readers. The active part played in several Ménak tales by heroines may account for this female preference. On the whole, in Javanese romances based on Paṇḍawa or Pañji tales female roles seem to be of less importance than they are in Ménak stories.

Notwithstanding their popularity in many districts of Java, and in part even at Court, the Javanese Ménak romances, though assimilated, never were wholly integrated in the great encyclopedia of mythic, epic, legendary and historic tales presented by the *Sĕrat Kaṇḍas* of the Pasisir period (22.900), the major *Babad Tanah Jawi* (27.000) and

the *Pustaka Raja* (28.400) of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In this respect the Ménak tales differ from the originally Indian Paṇḍawa cycle and the Pañji romances, which did become integrated. Integration took even place in the case of the *Anbiya* tales, which partly supplied the mythic background of the major *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa* of the Pasisir period. Evidently the Javanese Ménak tales were always considered as specifically belonging to Islamic culture. The distinction made between the Ménak romance on the one hand and the Paṇḍawa and Pañji tales on the other is another instance of the bipartition often noticed in Javanese culture. The well-known bifurcation: Right Branch (prophets and saints) — Left Branch (gods and epic heroes), of the legendary genealogical tree of Central Javanese Kings is comparable with the dualism of Ménak romances and Paṇḍawa tales.

Under the present head Ménak Amir Hamza tales, developed as independent romances and belonging to seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century North Coast, East Javanese and Javanese-Balinese literature, have been registered together. The romances are arranged chronologically according to the sequence of episodes of Amir Hamza's life established by the eighteenth century Central Javanese authors of Ménak compendiums (see 31.060). Some Javanese scholars considered the Lakad tale as belonging to the Ménak Amir Hamza cycle. In the present Synopsis it is registered in Part Two, for it contains part of the history of Muhammad's wars. It is more closely connected with real history than the Ménak tales are (see 22.020).

30.461 Ménak Amir Hamza romances, major texts, old Pasisir versions, called Ménak Saréas and Ménak Laré, adventures in youth, East Java and North Coast texts:

cod. 3594 (= 4023, Jav.-Bal.), 4869 (= 10.674 = BCB prtf 151), 4930, 5043 (Jav.-Bal.), 7382 (W. Java), dHMvO 1250 (Jav.-Bal.).

30.462 Ménak Sulup etc.:

cod. 2116 (North Coast).

30.463 Ménak Jobin or Ménak Kaos:

cod. 4913 (East Java), AdKIT 2124/1 (East Java).

30.464 Ménak Kuwari and Ménak Putri Cina:

cod. 1894 (East Java), 3798 (= 4025, Jav.-Bal.), 4836 (East Java), 8790.

30.465 Ménak Jamintoran and Ménak Jaminambar:

cod. 3628 (= 4026, Jav.-Bal.), 4027 (Jav.-Bal.), 4912.

30.466 Ménak Amir Hamza romance, fragments:

cod. Nst 13, dHMvO 988 (East Java).

30.480 Ménak Amir Hamza cycle, affiliated romances. Among the romances which were affiliated to the major Ménak Amir Hamza tale the Rěnganis story became very popular. Rěnganis is a beautiful young princess who, after many vicissitudes, consents to become the wife of Amir Hamza's son. The extraordinary success of the Rěnganis romance, belonging to the Ménak cycle, is in Poerbatjaraka's opinion ("Kapustakan "Djawi", 1952, p. 118) accounted for by the popularity of the tale of the love of Pañji and Ayrèni (see 30.460 on the relation Ménak-Pañji). In his introduction to a chapter on the Rěnganis in "Indonesische

"Handschriften" (1950, p. 1), Poerbatjaraka mentions some interesting popular tales on the princess's virginity which corroborate the supposition of some interrelationship between the flying flowery Rěnganis of Bañjaran Sari and nymphs or goddesses belonging to autochthonous Javanese mythology.

In consequence of its popularity the Rěnganis romance in its turn was given additions or sequences. The Kěṇḍit Birayun and Ajar Wali tales are considered by Poerbatjaraka as belonging to the Rěnganis group. The hero is not Ménak Amir Hamza himself but his son Iman Sumantri, also called Rěpatmaja, pañéran Kélan of Bañjaran Sari.

Both the tales belonging to the Rěnganis group and the various Ménak romances registered under the next head seem to be of East Javanese, Pasisir or Javanese-Balinese origin. In the Central Javanese, Kartasura and Surakarta compendiums of Ménak tales (31.060), the Rěnganis and related stories are not mentioned, or they occupy places of small importance. Evidently the popularity of the Ménak tales in the Pasisir districts was conducive to extending the texts. Perhaps in some cases romantic Malay hikayats served as models.

30.481 Rěnganis, version A, extensive, Javanese-Balinese:

cod. 4029, 10.354 (Krt 10.010), 10.835, CB 6.

30.482 Rěnganis, version B, Javanese-Balinese:

cod. 3681 (= 4030), 4031, 6911.

30.483 Rěnganis, various texts and fragments, Javanese and Javanese-Balinese:

cod. 1870 (Panaraga), 2220 (Jav.-Bal.),

4032 (fragment), 4829 (Madura), 5793 (East Java), 7601 (West Java), 9056 (East Java), 9703, KILTV Or 296, AdKIT 1330/397, AdKIT 1445/1a/1b/1c, AdKIT 3126/1, AdKIT H 972.

30.484 Kēṇḍit Birayun, Javanese and Javanese-Balinese:

cod. 2164, 3171, 3680 (= 4033, Jav.-Bal.), 4034.

30.485 Ajar Wali, Javanese-Balinese:

cod. 3806 (= 4036), 3941, 10.346 (Krt. 10.097), Teeuw 4b.

30.500 Ménak Amir Hamza cycle, Prabu Lara. Another very popular romance belonging to the Ménak Amir Hamza cycle is the Prabu Lara or Prabu Rara tale. It turns on the quest for the sword Kamkam, which is in the possession of a foreign princess. Amir Hamza's grandsons appear in this tale. Poerbatjaraka's "Beschrijving" (1940, p. 58) contains an interesting chapter on this poem, mentioning the important role played by the *panakarwans* (Jēmblung — another name of Umar Madi — and Umar Maya) in the tale.

30.501 Prabu Lara:

cod. 4039, 4943-II (= 10.688 = BCB prtf 172), 5794, 6705 A, B, 9055, REM 1994-22, REM 2908-4.

30.452 Prabu Lara romance, Dutch notes by Dr Brandes:

cod. 6465.

30.510 Ménak Amir Hamza cycle, minor offshoot romances. In the course of time several other Ménak romances were written in Java. In his "Beschrijving" (1940) Poerbatjaraka characterized these

minor poems as offshoots of the great tree of the Ménak tales. In his opinion they are comparable with the numerous wayan plays with plots diverging from the classical Paṇḍawa tale, which were written by eighteenth and nineteenth century play-wrights. Both these *sēmpalan* and *caraṇan* wayan plays and the Ménak offshoots may contain interesting tales composed with elements borrowed from old folk-tales and mythology. In several cases animals or animal-headed humans appear in the Ménak offshoots romances. Many names of Ménak romances belonging to Javanese-Balinese and Pasisir literature are also to be found in the quasi chronological list of episodes made by the Surakarta scholars (31.060).

30.511 Běrji, Javanese-Balinese, from Lombok:

cod. 3689 (= 4024, version A), 3782 (version B).

30.512 Wilobaṅ, Javanese-Balinese, from Lombok:

cod. 3663 (= 4035 = 10.622 = BCB prtf 73).

30.513 Ḍulaṅ Mas, Lokayanti, Javanese-Balinese, from Lombok:

cod. 3807 (version B), 4003 (version B = 4004), 4037 (version A = 10.696 = BCB prtf 177), 4038 (version C), KITLV Or 7.

30.514 Gajah Druma, Javanese-Balinese, from Lombok:

cod. 5331 (fragment), 6229 (= 7225 = BCB prtf 152), Teeuw 4b.

30.515 Barbari, Javanese-Balinese, from Lombok:

cod. 10.353 (Krt 10.009).

30.516 Ṇayaban, East Java:

cod. CB 145 (1F).

30.517 Ulu Danta, Javanese-Balinese, from Lombok:

cod. AdKIT 1330/449.

30.518 Saṅkarawati, Javanese-Balinese, from Lombok:

cod. REM 1354-29.

30.519^A Sasra Ludira, East Java:

cod. 9043, 10.393, GrnRUB Add 29b, UtrRUB IndSt Hs 1 D 13.

30.519^B Kampar, Java:

cod. 4040, 9044.

30.519^C Bandar Séla, from Lombok:

cod. Teeuw 11.

30.520 The Yusup romance.

In the beginning of the Islamic period of Javanese cultural history, beside the Ménak Amir Hamza romances, Anbiya and Yusup tales were written by Javanese authors, probably following Malay models. In the present Synopsis Anbiya texts and related literature, being more historical than belletristic, have been discussed in Part Two (21.700—22.000). Yusup romances, containing the life of Joseph in Egypt according to Kur'anic tradition, became extraordinarily popular in East Java and Madura as common reading-matter. In 16.400 the Yusup romance has been compared with the Abdul Kadir Jilani tales. Both were popular books in religiously minded communities, Yusup in East Java, Abdul Kadir in West Java. The Yusup has more of a romance and less of a didactic religious book than the Abdul Kadir; therefore it is registered in the present Part Three.

Probably the Javanese Ménak, Anbiya and Yusup altogether had Malay models. But originally the Ménak Amir Hamza romances are versions of Persian-Indian tales, as is borne out by the numerous corrupt Persian names. In the Anbiya and Yusup poems scarcely any traces of Persian influence are in evidence. They seem to be versions of

Arabic books. The Yusup tale is found in the Kur'an. Perhaps in the case of Anbiya and Yusup the Javanese authors not only worked with Malay models, but also with original Arabic texts.

In order to account for the extraordinary popularity of the Yusup romance in East Java and Madura, the same hypothesis, of some affinity between Yusup and Radèn Pañji, is appropriate as in the case of the Ménak tales (see 30.460).

In East Java and Madura parts of the Yusup poem were recited in meetings on various occasions, and often the recital of a stanza was followed by a prose interpretation in the vernacular, be it local Javanese or Madurese, given by a second performer. With reference to Old Javanese *kakawins* the same, almost ritual, alternation of recital and interpretation has been mentioned before (see 30.000). This remarkable parallelism in function between the Yusup poem and Old Javanese *kakawins* corroborates the supposition of an ancient relation with religion and religious rites in both of them.

The great number of Yusup manuscripts found in East Java and Madura, almost invariably written on palmleaves, is accounted for by the custom of the young men in those

districts to make a copy of the revered text for their own use, to show off in the recital meetings. Therefore many palmleaf manuscripts were provided with decorated wooden boards. Even in the twentieth century palm-leaf manuscripts were still made for show, though good paper was to be had at a low price so that paper copies in ink could have been made easily (see 00130).

Probably the text of the Yusup poem which was current in East Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok originally dates from the seventeenth century. It has some antique features. In the course of time many scribes made alterations, and in numerous manuscripts edifying passages were inserted. Reconstruction of the original text, though not impossible, would take much time. The East Javanese text was probably written by some scholar belonging to the Muslim religious community of Giri and Surabaya. All Yusup poems are in macapat metres and written in Javanese script.

Under the present head manuscripts containing the old East Javanese text, complete or incomplete, simple or provided with insertions, are collected. They have been arranged according to their origin, from Java (and Madura) or Bali (and Lombok). Under the next head a later Yusup text written in Central Java will be discussed.

30.521 Yusup romance from East Java and Madura, complete or nearly complete texts:

cod. 4936, 7122, 8379, 8777, 9037, 9052, 9058, 9066, 9069, 9071, 10.875, REM 2540-8, REM 2599-10, REM 3155-204, CB 1, AdKIT 321/1, AdKIT 1216/1, AdKIT A 4849/b, RtMLV 24151, Utr RUB IndSt Hs. 1. D. 8, Utr RUB IndSt. Hs. 1. D. 10, dHMvO 516.

30.522 Yusup romance from East Java and Madura, extensive texts, with edifying insertions:

cod. 4918, 8785, Krg 3, Nst 15, AdKIT 455/1, AdKIT 1524/1, AdKIT 1656/1, AdKIT 1837/1, RtMLV 34456, RtMLV 34457.

30.523 Yusup romance, texts from East Java and Madura, copies on paper:

cod. 5781, 6693, 8313 (one photocopy), NBS 86.

30.524 Yusup romance from East Java and Madura, incomplete, partially damaged:

cod. 1912, 8438, 8963, 9005, 9022, 9030, 9032, 9038, 9064, 9067, 9070, 10.883, 10.884, CB 3, CB 4, REM 1994-21, REM 2929-9, AdKIT 29/76, AdKIT 49/1, AdKIT 715/1, AdKIT 740/33, AdKIT H 971, RtMLV 27869, RtMLV 28858, Utr RUB IndSt Hs. 1. D. 9, Utr RUB IndSt Hs. 1. D. 17.

30.525 Yusup romance from East Java and Madura, incomplete, fragmentary, severely damaged or mutilated:

cod. 6268, 6954, 6955a, 9008, 9009, 9010, 9011, 9016, 9017, 9018, 9019, 9020, 9023, 9024, 9027, 9028, 9031, 9033, 9034, 9035, 9036, 9040, 9041, 9050, 9051, 9053, 9054, 9057, 9060, 9061, 9062, 9068, 9070, 9072, 9074, CB 2, Krg 1, Krg 2, Nst 1, Nst 2, Nst 3, Nst 4, Nst 5, Nst 6, Nst 11, Nst 16, Nst 19, REM 1974-1, REM 1974-2, REM 1994-10, REM 1994-11, REM 1994-14, REM 1994-17, REM 1994-18, REM 1994-19, REM 1994-20, REM 2405-1, REM 2424-1, REM 2599-9, AdKIT 455/2, AdKIT 654/1, AdKIT 838/7a, AdKIT 1216/2, AdKIT 1221/1, AdKIT 1324/2, AdKIT 2356/11, AdKIT A 4180, AdGUB 66, AdGUB 67, Rt-

GemBbl. 00: 22.082, RtMLV 21948, RtMLV 25599, RtMLV 25600, RtMLV 26482, RtMLV 28821, RtMLV 28859, RtMLV 40138.

30.526 Yusup romance from Bali and Lombok, complete or nearly complete texts:

cod. 4687, 4688, 4689, 4694, Grn RUB Add. 29a, Teeuw 3.

30.527 Yusup romance from Bali and Lombok, incomplete texts and fragments:

cod. 3945 (compendium = 10.628 = prtf 74), 4690, 4691, 4692, 4693, 4695, 4696, KITLV Or 298.

30.540 Yusup romance, later Javanese versions. Beside the standard East Javanese text of the Yusup romance, probably dating from the seventeenth century and written in an East Pasisir district (Grěsik or Surabaya), some poetic versions of the tale were made at a later time in districts in the interior of the country. They are registered under the present head, instead

of later, for completeness' sake. They never became as popular as the old text.

The first version was made at the Surakarta Court at the end of the eighteenth century. It is closely connected with religious Anbiya tales; it was even called Anbiya Yusup. It is more a book of devotion than a belletristic work.

Two manuscripts of later versions, both incomplete, are written in Arabic script, Perhaps in orthodox religious communities the popular custom of reciting the old East Javanese Yusup text in festive meetings was considered objectionable, and therefore new versions in Arabic script were made.

30.541 Anbiya Yusup, Surakarta version:
cod. 1802 (= BCB prtf 35).

30.542 Yusup tale in verse, in Arabic script:
cod. 3123.

30.543 Yusup tale in verse, incomplete, in Arabic script:
cod. 5440.

30.560 Islamic romances from the North Coast districts of East Java and from Madura.

In the flourishing period of the Pasisir literature, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, beside the Amir Hamza tales several other romances of Arabic-Persian origin were written in Javanese by authors who evidently used Malay models. Up to the nineteenth century they remained popular reading-matter in the districts along the North Coast of Java. Some of them have been published by local printers of Semarang. At the Central Javanese Courts in the interior of the country neither Malay litera-

ture nor the Islamic romances based on it were appreciated. Since the Surakarta renaissance of classical Javanese literature in the second half of the eighteenth century, belletristic tales and wayang plays founded on the old epics of Indian origin came into prominence. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries literature in the Surakarta style spread all over Java. It acquired a predominant position, and the old Islamic belletristic romances of the Pasisir districts lost their readers.

Professor Vreede's "Catalogus der Javaansche en Madoereesche handschriften" (1892) contains Dutch summaries of the contents of many Islamic romances. As a rule the plots are complicated and some standard motives return several times. Affinity with indigenous Javanese tales (of the *Pañji* cycle), which was noticed in *Ménak Amir Hamza* and *Yusup* romances, is scarcely apparent in the present Islamic romances. Perhaps that is the reason why their popularity never was very great. The popularity of the *Ménak* and *Yusup* tales has been ascribed to affinity with autochthonous myths.

The present Javanese Pasisir romances are comparable with the Javanese-Balinese Islamic romances, mostly from Lombok, which have been discussed in 30.440.

Under the following heads first those Islamic Pasisir romances which are of East Javanese and Madurese origin are discussed (30.560—30.660). The subsequent groups are the Central Pasisir Islamic romances (30.670—30.720) and the West Javanese Islamic romances (30.730—30.770). The distinction made between East, Central and West Javanese literature implies in many cases, on the part of the Javanese public, unfamiliarity with texts belonging to another region of Java than their own. Some romantic tales, however, in the first place the *Ménak Amir Hamza* romances, were known all over Java, especially in religious circles.

Stories about warlike adventures and fabulous travels, of the kind of the tales of *Sindbad the Sailor*, suited the taste of the rising Muslim mercantile and ruling classes of sixteenth and seventeenth Pasisir towns. The interrelationship of adventure stories and Islamic rejuvenescence of Javanese

society has been pointed out in 30.460.

Several romances belonging to seventeenth and eighteenth century Pasisir literature have wandering students of Islamic lore for heroes. The *Cēṭṭini* romance is the best known of this kind (see 30.780). It is true, in pre-Islamic literature vagrant students on a quest for wisdom sometimes appear in tales (e.g. *Pararaton*, first part, *Tantu Paṅgĕlaran*, *Warga Sari*). But then, in the beginning of the period of Islam, the roving spirit seems to be very much in the ascendant. Perhaps the disappearance of strict social tenets based on ancient religious classification, which was brought about by equalitarian Islam, gave an opportunity to brave men to go roaming about the country in search of adventures. Amorous alliances with girls of all classes, even princesses, in the pre-Islamic period banned by social taboos, were freely indulged in by vagrants who were pleasure-seeking adventurers. Perhaps a kind of Persian-Arabic picaresque novels, having wandering dervishes for principal actors, were orally transmitted and so influenced the development of Islamic romances in South East Asia.

The *Johar Manikam* (or -*Manikan*, or -*Manikaṅ*, or -*Manik*) romance was rather popular in its time. It seems to have been written in the eastern Pasisir region, Grĕsik, and it found many readers among the Madurese. It was published by a local printer in Semaraṅ in 1886. *Johar Manikam* is a heroic princess of Bagdad who after many adventures marries the Sultan of Nĕsam (Syria). In Malay literature *Jawhar Manikam* texts are well-known (see the catalogues of Malay manuscripts by Juynboll (Leiden 1899) and van Ronkel (Batavia 1909, and Leiden 1921.)

30.561 Johar Manikam romance from East Java, Madura:

cod. 2292, 4848 (= 10.700 = BCB prtf 181), 4935, 6955b, 8786, 9015, AdKIT 490/1, KITLV Or 393 (Kuṭa Gědé).

30.570 The Johar Sah romance contains another tale of Persian-Arabic origin. Like the Johar Manikam it was popular reading-matter in East Java. The text is found in several Javanese-Balinese manuscripts.

Johar Sah is a younger son who, chiefly by the energy of his wife Sinarah Wulan, finally overcomes his elder brother, who first succeeded their father as King of Sahalsah. The tale contains the ancient motive of jealousy and strife between brothers, which is noticed also in other romances belonging to the Pasisir literature (Séla Rasa, 30.750, Ahmad-Muhammad, 30.730, Abdurahman-Abdurakim, 30.760, and Jaran Sari-Jaran Purnama, 30.830). There is reason to believe that fraternal jealousy in literature is another instance of the dichotomy of human society which belongs to the fundamental concepts of ancient Javanese philosophy (cf. Korawāśrama, 20.300 and Baron Sakèṇḍèr, 26.200). Relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *brothers*.

Evidently the poet of the Johar Sah romance borrowed some features from older tales. The story of the lady snake who forgot herself by accepting a low-born snake as lover is found in Javanese literature also in the Aji Darma book. It is of Indian origin.

30.571 Johar Sah (or Jowarsa) romance, Javanese texts:

cod. 1827 (= 10.616 = BCB prtf 71), 7553.

30.572 Johar Sah (or Jowarsah) romance, Javanese-Balinese texts, version A:

cod. 3731, 4219, 4220, 4221.

30.573 Johar Sah (or Jowarsah) romance, various Javanese-Balinese texts:

cod. 3164, 4222, 4223, 10.345 (Krt 10.096), REM 1615-1, REM br 79-M 5, Teeuw 2.

30.580 The Mursada romance turns on the hero's quest for a medicine to cure the illness of a Queen. The tale has several features borrowed from older works. It was popular in Madura; a Madurese version of the tale is known.

30.581 Mursada romance, Java and Madura:

cod. 1819 (= 10.618 = BCB prtf 71), 9021.

30.590 Jaka Nastapa is the hero of another East Pasisir romance, probably of Grěsik origin, containing miraculous adventures of a young man of Bragědad (Baghdad) who wins a princess of Sari Bumi.

30.591 Jaka Nastapa romance, East Java:

cod. 2138 (= 6753).

30.600 A similar tale of adventures is the Jaka Prataka romance. The hero is a young man of lowly state who wins many princesses; finally he becomes King of Měsir. The Javanese poem was made in the East Pasisir region. Relationship with some Malay hikayat seems probable. Poerbatjaraka's "Ind. HSS." (1950, p. 84) contains an excerpt of a manuscript in the KBG

library, with the title *Prantaka*. In cat. Juynboll I, p. 33, a Madurese *Jaka Prataka* version is discussed.

Beside the *Prantaka*, *Jati Kusuma*, *Jaka Saléwah*, *Jaka Sasigar*, *Mursada*, *Iman Sujana*, *Radèn Kusuma*, *Jatiswara*, *Abu Nawas*, *Amad-Muhammad* and *Abdurahman-Abdurakim* romances, *Poerbatjaraka* mentions also the romances of *Radèn Sulam* or *Purbaniṅrat*, *Aruman*, *Raja Darma* and *Murtasiyah* as belonging to the *Pasantrèn* literature, i.e. the literature of Muslim religious communities. The four last mentioned texts are not found in the Leiden University collection. In the present Synopsis the *Lakad*, *Raja Kandak*, *Samaṅun*, *Imam Nawawi*, *sèh Jabar Sidik* and *dèwi Maléka* texts, which *Poerbatjaraka* registered with the romances belonging to the *Pasantrèn* literature, have been discussed in Part One, Religion (16.500 and 17.400), and Part Two, History (22.000).

In Part One, Religion (16.600 ff.) some allegorical poems have been registered. Their interrelationship with the present merely romantic tales is likely.

30.601 *Jaka Prataka* romance:

cod. 2007, 2195, 11.025, CB 19 (Madurese), dHMvO 989.

30.610 The *Jati Kusuma* romance seems also a product of an East Javanese poet. The hero is a prince of *Asmara Kaṇḍi* (Samarkand) who wins a princess of *Joṅ Biraji*. The latter name is found also in *Ménak Amir Hamza* romances. The hero has a pair of *panakawans*, called *Jumput* and *Clèput*. *Poerbatjaraka* mentions the *Jati Kusuma* romance in his "Ind. HSS." (1950, p. 80) in connection with the *Jaka Prataka*.

Poensen published a paper on the poem (MNZG vol. 24, 1880).

30.611 *Jati Kusuma* romance, version A:
cod. 4202.

30.612 *Jati Kusuma* romance, version B:
cod. 4203, 5780, REM 360-7514.

30.620 *Sukmadi* is the hero of another East Javanese romance. A Madurese version of the tale is known. The name of the hero's *panakawan* is *Ḍegol*.

30.621 *Sukmadi* romance:

cod. 4709 (= 10.644 = BCB prtf 78; fragmentary).

30.630 Evidently the Javanese *Déwa Měṅḍo* romance is a version of the hikayat *Déwa Mandu*, which was a popular tale in Malay romantic literature. Probably the *Déwa Měṅḍo* text was written in East Java.

30.631 *Déwa Měṅḍo* romance:

cod. 2297 (= 10.619 = BCB prtf 72).

30.640 The *Radèn (Ardi) Kusuma* romance is also of East Javanese origin. *Poerbatjaraka*'s "Beschrijving" (1950) contains a summary of the text (p. 109).

30.641 *Radèn Kusuma* romance:

cod. 8787, 8914.

30.642 *Ardi Kusuma* romance:

cod. 9048.

30.650 The *Radèn Saputra* romance was popular in East Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok. A Javanese-Balinese version has been mentioned under 30.423. Madurese and Malay versions of the tale are known.

30.652 *Radèn Saputra* romance:

cod. 4917 (= 10.708 = BCB prtf 190, both are partial copies).

30.660 The East Javanese *Santri Gudigan* text seems to be a prose translation of a popular Madurese folk-tale: a poor pious man wins a princess by means of a jewel

which he gets from the King of fishes.

30.661 *Santri Gudigan* prose tale:
cod. 2333.

30.670 Islamic romances from the North Coast districts of Central Java.

In the sixteenth century the Kings of Dêmak dominated the Central Pasisir districts of Java. In the beginning of the seventeenth century they definitely lost their political power to the Kings who resided in the inland districts. But at the local Central North Coast Courts of Japara and Sêmarañ, a literary Pasisir tradition still was cultivated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and influence was exercised on the development of scholarship and letters at the Court of inland Mataram, which until that time was rather uncultured.

In the Central Pasisir districts the *Ménak Amir Hamza* romances were popular, and several *Ménak* offshoot romances, such as are described in 30.460—30.510, were known. Moreover Central Pasisir poets wrote some romances closely connected with the great *Ménak Amir Hamza* cycle.

Asmara Supi, the hero of a well-known romance of this genre, was considered to be a descendant of Amir Hamza, and his adventures are of the same kind as those of his forbear. They are located in Bragëdad (Baghdad) and Njësam (Syria). The second part of the name, *Supi* (Arabic *şūfī*, adept in mysticism), suggests some connection with wandering scholars, dervishes, who appear in Persian-Arabic tales of fabulous adventures.

Poerbatjaraka ("Ind. HSS." 1950, p. 81) draws attention to *Asmara Supi*'s names *Jayèñ Tilam* and *Jayèñ Sari*, which are also given to the hero of the *Pañji* romances. All three names have erotic connotations (*Asmara*: *Smara*). On account of the probable interrelationship between the *Pañji* cycle, the *Ménak Amir Hamza* romances and the *Yusup* tale (30.360, 30.460, 30.520) some connection between the heroes of those books and *Asmara Supi* also seems likely.

30.671 *Asmara Supi* romance, old, concise version:

cod. 2194, 4077.

30.672 *Asmara Supi* romance, younger, extensive, version, by Yasadipura (?):

cod. 1798 (= 10.737 = BCB prtf 215), 10.836.

30.680 The *Iman Sujana* romance is also in the style of the *Ménak Amir Hamza* tales. Moreover the book contains many inserted lessons on religion. Poerbatjaraka ("Ind. HSS." 1950, p. 105) has an extensive summary. He noticed some connection with the *Mursada* tale.

30.681 *Iman Sujana* romance:

cod. 6600.

30.690 The Central Pasisir *Bagéñḍa*

Sèh Mardān romance is a version of the Malay prose hikayat Shah Mardān, which is also called, after its hero, Ēndra Jaya or Wikrama Ditya Jaya. It turns on the adventures of a prince who i.a. in the course of his wanderings from one Court to another was transformed into a bird. Lessons on religious lore occupy a rather important place in the text.

Evidently the Sèh Mardān tale is of Persian-Indian origin. So are many other Javanese and Javanese-Balinese romances and compendiums of tales and fables, e.g. the Tantri books (see 30.290). The Sèh Mardān contains some episodes similar to adventures told in the Javanese-Balinese Aji Darma poem (see 30.401) and the Javanese Aṅliṅ Darma book (see 30.700). The interrelationship between the originally Malay Sèh Mardān romance and the Aji Darma — Aṅliṅ Darma books seems not very close, though. There is no warrant for calling the Sèh Mardān romance a version of the Aji Darma — Aṅliṅ Darma books, nor for the reverse opinion. The similarities are to be ascribed to common borrowings from Persian-Indian texts. Professor Drewes has made a thorough study of the Sèh Mardān, the Aji Darma and the Aṅliṅ Darma.

30.691 Bagénda Sèh Mardān romance:

cod. 2296.

30.700 The Javanese Aṅliṅ Darma romance is a version of an older text similar to the Javanese-Balinese Aji Darma poem (see 30.401). In the Central Pasisir districts the tale of the King who understood the animal language was popular. An extensive

poetic redaction was edited by Winter (Verh. KBG vol. 25, 1853).

The Sèh Mardān romance has some episodes similar to stories of the Aji Darma — Aṅliṅ Darma books (see 30.690).

30.701 Aṅliṅ Darma romance:

cod. 1794 I-II.

30.702 Aṅliṅ Darma romance, edition of 1853, copied:

cod. BCB prtf 141.

30.720 In Malay literature a very popular tale was the hikayat Sultan Ibrahim. In the nineteenth century it was repeatedly printed in Batavia. Probably on account of that popularity Winter made a Javanese poetical version in macapat metres, which was published, and another in Indian metres (so-called *kawi miriṅ*), which remained unpublished.

Perhaps the Javanese Sultan Ibrahim romance was intended by the Dutch educational authorities as a contribution to the supply of wholesome and morally uplifting reading-matter for the Javanese public. There is no evidence, though, that the book was much appreciated in leading literary circles in Central Java. The tale is rather insipid, turning on a righteous King of Nérak and his son.

30.721 Sultan Ibrahim romance, *kawi miriṅ* (C. F. Winter):

cod. 2141.

30.722 Sultan Ibrahim romance, macapat verse:

cod. 2145.

30.723 Sultan Ibrahim romance, prose text:

cod. 2139.

30.730 Islamic romances from West Java.

The western part of the Javanese Pasisir districts had two cultural centres: Cĕrbon and Bantĕn. Cĕrbon was the oldest and the most important. In the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, from the Court of the Sultans, descendants of Sunan Gunung Jati, Islam and Muslim literature spread in West Java, and the originally Sundanese country was almost entirely won for Javanese culture. Afterwards, in the nineteenth century, Sundanese literature revived, and Javanese culture was on the retreat.

As centres of distribution of Javanese literature in West Java and South Sumatra (Lampung), Cĕrbon and Bantĕn are comparable with Grĕsik and Surabaya, the centres from where in the Pasisir period East Javanese cultural influence radiated to the eastern islands, Bali and Lombok. The radiation of Javanese culture in the eastern parts was older, stronger and more enduring than that which went westwards. But even in Madura, Bali and Lombok the indigenous languages and literatures were not altogether superseded by Javanese.

In the western part of the North Coast districts, just as in the centre and in the east, seventeenth and eighteenth century Javanese culture had connections with inter-insular Malay literature, and through this medium with international Indian-Persian-Arabic Islam. In the western Pasisir the Mĕnak Amir Hamza tales were well-known. In Cĕrbon the wayaṅ golĕk theatre, using round wooden puppets instead of the flat leather ones of the wayaṅ purwa theatre, flourished in the eighteenth and the nine-

teenth century. It was especially adapted to plays made from episodes of the Mĕnak Amir Hamza cycle of tales. Moreover in the seventeenth or the eighteenth century authors from western Pasisir districts wrote some remarkable romances which partly remained unknown in other regions of Java. In several cases parallel texts in Malay and Sundanese literatures are known.

Under the present head *A h m a d-M u h a m m a d* manuscripts are collected. The tale, turning on the jealousy and strife of a pair of brothers, was known also in other parts of the North Coast districts, and in the Tĕṅgĕr highlands. In West Java and in Bali and Lombok it was read very much. Van der Tuuk's notes on the Javanese-Balinese Amad romance (in Brandes's Catalogue of the Van der Tuuk collection, vol. I, 1901, p. 29) are most interesting. There is no evidence that it ever was popular in the interior of Central Java. A Malay Hikayat of the same name is also known.

Manuscripts containing tales turning on jealousy of brothers have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *brothers*. The motive is found in several texts. Some relationship with mythology seems probable (see 30.570).

30.731 Ahmad-Muhammad romance, East Javanese text:

cod. 1985 (= 10.623 = BCB prtf 74).

30.732 Ahmad-Muhammad romance, Central North Coast, illustrated:

cod. 8655.

30.733 Ahmad-Muhammad romance, West Javanese text:

cod. 6627, 6956, 7513, 7779, 8611.

30.734 Ahmad-Muhammad romance, Javanese-Balinese text, from Bali or Lombok, called Amad, in macapat metres:

cod. 1877, 3673 (= 3944), 3719, 3757, 3766, 3804 (= 4019), 4016, 4017, 4018, 4020, 4021, 4022, 8998, 10.307 (Krt 10.104), AdGUB 61, AdKIT A 5791.

30.735 Ahmad-Muhammad romance, called Amad, Javanese-Balinese text in tēḡahan verse:

cod. 4015 (= 10.477 = BCB prtf 12).

30.740 The A h m a d H a n a p i romance seems to be little known. The tale is fairylike and phantastic. The connection with the Malay hikayat Muhammad Hanafiya, which contains the history of Muhammad's grandsons Hasan and Husain, if based on more than the similarity of names, seems not very close.

30.741 Ahmad Hanapi romance in verse, from Bantēn:

cod. 7507.

30.745 Another romantical tale in verse from West Java, the story of S a h a d prince of Budalsah, is imperfectly known from a damaged manuscript. Some connection with other romances, either Javanese, Sundanese or Malay, seems quite possible.

30.746 Sahad prince of Budalsah romance in verse, from Cērbon:

cod. 7719 (= 10.763).

30.750 The S é l a R a s a romance seems to be typically West Pasisir. In other regions of Java the tale is not found. Its connection with Islamic tales is evident; many episodes refer to wars against unbelievers. Cēmpa, i.e. Champa, in Further India, is mentioned.

In Javanese historical tradition the very first propagators of Islam in Java are said to have been natives of Cēmpa.

The S é l a R a s a tale turns on strife between brothers, like the Ahmad-Muhammad romance and several other books of the time (see the General Index, under the catchword *brothers* and 30.570).

30.751 S é l a R a s a romance:

cod. 1824 (= BCB 217), 10.803.

30.760 Another typically West Javanese romance is the tale of A b d u r a h m a n and A b d u r a h i m. Again it is a tale of a pair of brothers who went on a quest (see 30.570). A Sundanese tale of the same name is known.

30.761 Abdurahman Abdurahim romance:

cod. 10.801, DFT S 277-10.

30.765 A b u N a w a s is the hero, a clever joker, of a cycle of stories well-known in Malay and other literatures. Evidently the Javanese version was made after a Malay model. In his "Ind. HSS." (1950, p. 121) Poerbatjaraka gives an epitome of a manuscript of the KBG collection, *cod.* Br. 10, which was written in the district of Bañumas.

30.766 Abu Nawas romance:

cod. 11.018-III.

30.770 J a k a S a l é w a h, the Half-and-Half Black-and-White Man, is the hero of a West Javanese romance containing Muslim religious lessons. The motive of the tale is a quest for Allah. Hooykaas's "Balische "Verhalen van den Halve" (1958) turn on a similar quest but they belong to non-Islamic Balinese literature. This similarity is an in-

stance of the fundamental interrelationship of Javanese religious speculations, be they Islamic or non-Islamic.

The Jaka Saléwah romance seems to be of Javanese origin. By this fact it is distinguished from the Islamic romances which have been discussed under the preceding heads; many of them appeared to have Malay models or Malay parallel texts.

In his "Beschrijving" (1950, p. 96) Poerbatjaraka mentions a Javanese parallel text, Jaka Sasigar. Van Akkeren's thesis "Een Gedrocht en toch de Volmaakte Mens"

(1951) deserves to be mentioned in this connection (see 15.220). On account of the quest motive and the speculations, the Jaka Saléwah romance might be considered as a didactic religious poem. It is related with the Jatiswara, Cabolaṅ, and Cēṅtini romances, which belong to the literature of religious communities, adepts of Javanese Muslim mysticism (see 30.780).

30.771 Jaka Saléwah romance:

cod. 1830 (= 10.724 = BCB prtf 207),
NBS 152 (= 10.725 = BCB prtf 208),
KITLV Or 19.

30.780 Vagrant students' romances containing encyclopedical passages.

In the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, vagrant students roaming about the country in search of knowledge and adventures were a feature of Javanese society. In the Introduction to the present author's "Javaanse Volksvertoningen" attention has been drawn to the important part played by vagrants, be they students or common adventurers, in the development and spread of literature and art in Java. It is true, in the pre-Islamic period of Javanese civilization wandering adventurers were already in evidence. In pre-Islamic Javanese literature the genre of the vagrant students' romance is represented by the Warga Sari poem (30.245). The first part of the Pararaton (20.410), which contains the adventures of Aṅrok, might also be called a romance of a vagrant student.

The beginning of the Islamic period, however, was particularly favourable for activities of adventurers, no longer restrained by strict social taboos based on ancient religious

classification. Probably the efflorescence of romantical literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was mainly the result of two factors: the rise of a new Muslim class of rulers and merchants in the Javanese North Coast towns, and the activities of a class of Muslim scholars and divines, belonging to religious communities spread all over the country, and intercommunicating by means of the wandering students who went from the residence of one celebrated master in religious lore to another. In 30.560 these connections of literature with social classes have been mentioned with reference to the beginning of East Javanese Islamic romantical literature.

The development of Javanese Islamic mysticism in religious communities of the North Coast districts has been discussed in Part One, Religion (14.000). The vagrant students' romances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which are registered under the following heads provide valuable

information on the social background of the authors of well-known texts on mysticism. The mystic songs, *suluks* (see 14.900), which occupy an important place in Javanese religious literature, are repeatedly mentioned in the vagrant students' romances.

As a rule the vagrant students extended their wanderings to many districts, and therefore the romances are not strictly confined to East, Central or West Java. In most tales some district of Java is mentioned as the point of departure of the hero's wanderings. In some cases (e.g. Jatiswara) the hero's foreign origin (Palémbaŋ, of a Cěmpa family) is mentioned in the text. Clownish personages, resembling *panakawans* (see 30.080), appear in many romances of this genre. They relieve the dullness of long lists and descriptions.

Under the present head *Jatiswara* manuscripts are collected. The *Jatiswara* has been mentioned in the present author's *Cabolaŋ* and *Cěŋtini* monograph (Verh. KBG vol. 72, 1933). Poerbatjaraka ("Ind. HSS." 1950, p. 111) made a summary of a manuscript belonging to the KBG collection, lontar no. 536. In his opinion the *Jatiswara* romance is older than the *Cěŋtini*. Both seem to be of East Javanese Pasisir origin. They were also known in Muslim communities in Bali and Lombok. *Jatiswara*'s wanderings are explained as endeavours to find the whereabouts of his brother *Sajati*, who had disappeared. In the *Cěŋtini* romance also the loss of a relative is the motivation to go searching. The real contents of the books are lessons of religious lore alternating with amorous adventures.

30.781 *Jatiswara* romance, Javanese text:

cod. 2306, 6680 a, 6680 b, 6910 (= 6827 = BCB prtŋ 176).

30.782 *Jatiswara* romance, Javanese-Balinese texts, from Lombok:

cod. 2216, 3608, 4204, 4205, 4206, 5072, AdKIT 1330/396, BrJN 469, Teeuw 12.

30.790 *Cabolaŋ* is another hero of a wandering students' romance. Probably in the nineteenth century a connection was made between the *Cabolaŋ* tales and the major cycle of the *Cěŋtini* romance, and an account of *Cabolaŋ*'s wanderings, mainly through Central Java, was prefixed to the *Cěŋtini*. *Cabolaŋ* is said to be a son of a *kyahi*, a master of a religious community, in the *Ḍiyèŋ* hills, North of the ancient district of Mataram. He left his home to go wandering in search of adventures. The present *Cabolaŋ* book, probably written in Surakarta in the last decades of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth in imitation of the *Cěŋtini*, was made, even more than its predecessor, into a storehouse of encyclopedic knowledge of things Javanese. The principal author and editor was Sumahatmaka, of the Maŋkunagaran House. It is true, in all wandering students' romances amorous adventures are related, but some *Cabolaŋ* and *Cěŋtini* episodes are very frankly erotic, verging on the pornographic. The present author's Dutch monograph on the *Cabolaŋ* and *Cěŋtini* books (Verh. KBG vol. 72, 1933) contains summaries of the encyclopedic contents.

30.791 *Cabolaŋ* romance, Sumahatmaka:

cod. 6678 I-V.

30.800 The *Cěŋtini* book is the best known of the wandering students' romances.

The tale turns on the adventures of some young men of Giri, the spiritual centre of Islam in East Java, who were wandering about in the country after the fall of the town, a victim of the Mataram King's greed of conquest. The wanderers are said to be the children of the unfortunate last sunan of Giri, and therefore they were wanted by the King. Moreover they lost each other in the confusion of the sack of the town, and they tried to reunite.

Cęñtini is the name of a female servant of Tambañ Raras, the wife of Amora Raga, who is the oldest and the wisest of the wanderers from Giri. The reason why the whole book was given the name of the servant is not clear. It seems possible that the kernel of the present Cęñtini book was a *suluk* Cęñtini, a mystic poem (see 14.900), which long ago has disappeared in the overwhelming mass of encyclopedic information. The Cęñtini book has been discussed in the present author's monograph (Verh. KBG vol. 72, 1933). Poerbatjaraka ("Kapustakan "Djawi", 1953, p. 157) has some interesting notes on its origin. A very elaborate text was composed in the first decades of the nineteenth century in Surakarta by the Court-scholars Yasadipura II and Rañga Sutrasna, under the auspices of the Crown Prince, later King Paku Buwana V. It is a sample of the encyclopedic spirit in literature which was prevalent in the period of the Surakarta classical renaissance. Information of all kinds on things Javanese, topography, art, music, magic, divination and erotics, but also religious speculation and mysticism, was collected by order of the Royal patron to be incorporated in the book.

The major version of the Cęñtini book (cod. 1814) has been published (KBG, Batavia, 1912-'15). Several minor versions are known, some of them probably of East Javanese origin, and older than the printed text. Moreover, sequences and parallel texts were written in the nineteenth century, as so many proofs of the book's popularity, mainly in the circles of old-fashioned religiously minded middle-class people.

30.801 Cęñtini romance, short version:

cod. 4584, 4585, 4586, 4895 (called Tambañ Raras).

30.802 Cęñtini romance, major version, published:

cod. 1814 I-V.

30.803 Cęñtini romance, sequences and additions to the major text:

cod. 6679 I-VII (= 10.593, 10.594, 10.595, 10.596 = BCB prtf 68 A-D).

30.804 Cęñtini romance, Kuća Gęđę versions:

cod. 6796 a.

30.805 Cęñtini romance, variant versions:

cod. 6796 b (Magęłañ), 10.802 (fragmentary).

30.806 Cęñtini romance, loose passages and notes:

cod. 6517, 8580.

30.810 The *Madu Jaya* tale appears to be another sample of the type of wandering students' romances with didactic insertions. It was less well known than the Jatiswara and the Cęñtini books. Probably the *Madu Jaya* is of West Javanese origin.

30.811 *Madu Jaya* romance:

cod. 7547.

30.820 Romances based on legendary history or pseudo-history.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries religious and political commotions stimulated interest in history. In Part Two of the present Synopsis (22.200) the development of a historical literature in the Pasisir districts of Java has been discussed. Some poets of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made belletristic historical romances set in the period of the East Javanese Kings of Kaḍiri, Siṅasari and Majapahit, more than three hundred years before their time. The authors did not possess any real knowledge about the past. In many cases the plots contain borrowings from well-known mythological and legendary tales.

The poetical romances which are registered under the present and the following heads (30.820—30.884) have in common the references to history as viewed by seventeenth and eighteenth century Javanese authors. In this respect some of the texts are comparable with pre-Islamic historical ballads (Ranḡa Lawé etc., 20.700) and with early historical literature of the Pasisir period (Kidunḡ Arok etc., 22.200). The following romances (Pañji and Damar Wulan cycles) have been registered in the present Part Three, Belles-Lettres, because the belletristic, fantastic and, sometimes, didactical features in them predominate over the historical. It is clear that the poets did not intend in the first place to impart information on history.

Under the present head manuscripts of the *Jaya Lēṅkara* romance, which is connected with the Pañji tales, are collected. Poerbatjaraka ("Ind. HSS.", 1950, p. 17-25) has described an ancient *Jaya Lēṅkara*

of Sunya Wibawa text of Palémbanḡ origin, another case of the wide spread of Pasisir literature. Poerbatjaraka's notes on the old macapat metres used in this text are very interesting. *Jaya Lēṅkara* and his companion *Sujanma* (or *Sujalma*) are wandering about, meeting many masters in religious and secular lore and so increasing in wisdom. The text contains many didactic passages, i.e. on statecraft, and also amorous adventures of the heroes. In these respects it resembles wandering students' romances of the *Jatiswara* kind. It concludes with the description of a war. It is called *Jaya Lēṅkara Wulanḡ* (i.e. didactic) in order to distinguish it from a real Pañji romance, also called *Jaya Lēṅkara* (see 30.880) and a prose lawbook *Jaya Lēṅkara* (47.420). Probably all *Jaya Lēṅkara* texts are of East Javanese origin. Kaḍiri and Siṅasari are mentioned in the tales.

30.821 *Jaya Lēṅkara Wulanḡ*, romance:

cod. 1799, 1801, 1850 (compendium = 10.565 = BCB prtf 64), 5767 a, 9029, NBS 232.

30.822 *Jaya Lēṅkara Wulanḡ*, selections:

cod. 1861, 1864 (compendium).

30.830 *Jaran Sari* and *Jaran Purnama*, rival brothers, are the heroes of a pseudo historical romance which probably is of West Javanese origin, though Blambanḡ and Majapahit are mentioned. In the flourishing period of the Pasisir culture, in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, communication between the coastal districts of West, Central and East Java was easy. It is remarkable that *Jaran Sari* *Jaran Purnama* manuscripts of Central or East Javanese

origin seem to be rare. The frequent occurrence of pairs of brothers in romances of the Pasisir period has been mentioned before (30.570, see the General Index under the catchword *brothers*).

30.831 Jaran Sari Jaran Purnama romance, West Javanese origin:

cod. 2001, 2012, 3360-II, DFT S 227-6, DFT S 227-7.

30.832 Jaran Sari Jaran Purnama, extensive version:

cod. 4201 (= 10.728 = BCB prtf 211).

30.840 Evidently the *Sili Waṅi* historical romance is of West Javanese origin, the hero being an ancestor of Kings in Sundanese legendary history. In Javanese books of tales, *Sĕrat Kaṅḍas*, and histories of the Pasisir period and afterwards, *Sili* (or *Silih*) *Waṅi* is mentioned regularly. Probably the present West Javanese *Sili Waṅi* romance is based on a Sundanese original.

30.841 *Sili Waṅi* romance:

cod. NBS 369.

30.850 *Damar Wulan* romances. Among Javanese historical romances written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the most popular, especially in East and Central Java, was the *Damar Wulan* tale, the story of the valiant young man who vanquished the Majapahit Queen's enemy, married her and became King himself. The *Damar Wulan* romance contains several elements pertaining to folk-tales. Perhaps its extraordinary popularity, just as in the case of *Mĕnak Amir Hamza* and *Bagĕnda*

Yusup, is due to *Damar Wulan*'s affinity with a mythic culture hero of Javanese origin. The important place occupied in the Javanese mind by this personage has been discussed by Dr Rassers in his studies on *Pañji* (see 30.360).

In the Javanese puppet theatre, *wayaṅ gĕḍog* and *wayaṅ klitĕk* varieties, both *Pañji* and *Damar Wulan* are much admired characters. Their puppets have many features in common. The same can be said of *Arjuna*, in Java commonly called *Janaka*, the most popular hero of the *Paṇḍawa* cycle of tales, presented in the *wayaṅ purwa* theatre (see 30.340). The *Arjuna* puppet is of the same type as the *Pañji* and *Damar Wulan* *wayaṅ* puppets. The appearance of *Damar Wulan*, *Radĕn Pañji*, *Janaka* (and *Mĕnak Amir Hamza*, see 30.460), inter-related characters, in the *wayaṅ* theatre, is an indication of their common affinity with a mythic hero, for the connection between the *wayaṅ* theatre and ancient religious rites and myths is indubitable. Without this affinity it is not easy to understand why *Damar Wulan*, *Radĕn Pañji*, *Janaka* and *Amir Hamza* tales were selected to be represented by means of *wayaṅ* puppets and masks which still retained a sacral character (see the present author's "*Javaanse Volksvertoningen*", 1938, index).

Probably the connection, established in the seventeenth century by an East Javanese poet, between *Damar Wulan* and the ancient House of Majapahit, enhanced the popularity of the tale. Subsequent Javanese scholars considered the *Damar Wulan* poem as a reliable account of a period of Old Javanese dynastic history. Just as the *Pañji* tales, the *Damar Wulan* romance was incorporated in

the Books of Tales, the *Sĕrat Kaṇḍas* of the Pasisir period (see 22.900) and afterwards in the Major Javanese Histories (27.000). Led on by their Javanese predecessors, the first Dutch scholars who were interested in Java held the opinion that the romances could be used as sources of information on dynastic history. However, the search for events in Old Javanese political history which might have been dramatized in the Damar Wulan romance has not had satisfactory results. The same is the case with the *Pañji* romances, for that matter. Both Damar Wulan and *Pañji* romances have a purely romantic kernel of ancient mythic origin. Historical references to Majapahit and Kaḍiri Kings are secondary additions, though dating from the seventeenth century or even earlier.

The Damar Wulan romance is of East Javanese origin, but in the seventeenth century it was already known in Central Java, and in West Java it was read also. The presentation of the tale by means of the puppet theatre made for a wide spread in the districts along the North Coast where the wayaṅ theatre first became popular. A special kind of wayaṅ puppet called wayaṅ klitĕk or wayaṅ krucil, flat wooden boards, profiled and supplied with flexible arms, were used for preference in Damar Wulan performances. This does not mean, though, that Damar Wulan romances could not be played with other kinds of wayaṅ puppets, or that wayaṅ klitĕk could not be used to stage other tales.

The Damar Wulan romance is known in different versions, but the principal features of the tale always remained the same. The extraordinary popularity of the original East

Javanese romance stimulated later authors to write sequences. In these additional tales trustworthy information on political history is no more to be expected than in the original tale. Poerbatjaraka distinguished no less than eight different versions among the Damar Wulan manuscripts in the KBG collection (*Jaarboek KBG* vol. 8, 1941, p. 227). It is also a proof of the popularity that several manuscripts of the Damar Wulan romance were illustrated.

In the nineteenth century in Surakarta a prose version was made by C. F. Winter. It was published (*Verh. KBG* vol. 30 and vol. 64, 1922). The second edition was provided in part with a free translation in Dutch by van Hinloopen Labberton. Poetic versions were published repeatedly by local printers in Java. In the second half of the nineteenth century in Surakarta the Damar Wulan romance was dramatized and used as a script of a Javanese musical play in verse, sung and danced by female dancers of the Court of Prince Maṅku Nagara IV and his successors. The performance was called *Laḡĕn Driya*. It was much admired (see 31.150).

Under the present head Damar Wulan manuscripts of different versions, tentatively distinguished according to van der Tuuk's opinion (found in Brandes' Catalogue of his collection), are collected.

30.851 Damar Wulan romance, version A, van der Tuuk:

cod. 1797, 1838, 1845 (= BCB prtf 28), 2117, 4170 (= 10.537 = BCB prtf 36), 4171, 5817, 10.543 (KBG, CS coll. no. 5, = BCB prtf 38-III), NBS 25, KITLV Or 18.

30.852 Damar Wulan romance, extensive version:

cod. 1866-II (= 10.542 = BCB prtf 38-II), 2192.

30.853 Damar Wulan romance, version B, van der Tuuk:

cod. 4172 (= 3985-I).

30.854 Damar Wulan romance, version C, van der Tuuk:

cod. 4173 (Andaka Wulan = 3985-III = BCB prtf 29).

30.855 Damar Wulan romance, sequence, version D, van der Tuuk:

cod. 4174 (= BCB prtf 29).

30.856 Damar Wulan romance in prose, by C. F. Winter:

cod. 2152.

30.851 Damar Wulan romance, East Javanese origin:

cod. 6583 (lontar KBG no 799), 10.541 (= BCB prtf 38-I: KBG coll Brandes no 621: lontar KBG no 806), AdKIT 596/61, AdKIT 1308/2, Grn RUB Add 29.

30.858 Damar Wulan romance, Yogyakarta version, extensive:

cod. 6507 (= 10.540 = BCB prtf 38-I), 8500.

30.859 Damar Wulan romance, fragments:

cod. CB 138, Nst 8, Nst 18, RtMLV 25338.

30.860 Damar Wulan romance with illustrations (photographic copies):

cod. 8390 (India Office Library, London, F Or A 21).

30.870 *Pañji romances of Java.* East Javanese poets, probably living in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, were the authors of two inter-related cycles of romances, the Damar Wulan and the Pañji poems. In the course of time both became

very popular, spreading over all districts of Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok, and even beyond. Whereas the Damar Wulan tale, being connected with the Majapahit kingdom, was read more within the confines of the old realm in Java, the Pañji romances spread much further, even to foreign countries in Further India. Poerbatjaraka described the extension of this spread in his "Pandji-verhalen onderling vergeleken" (KBG, 1940).

In Javanese-Balinese literature the development of Pañji romances was more luxuriant than in the literature of Java proper. The numerous Javanese-Balinese *Malat Kun* and minor Pañji poems in *tengahan* and *macapat* metres have been discussed in 30.360 ff. Perhaps the reason why in Bali Pañji romances developed more luxuriantly than in Java is the limitation of romantic phantasy to two or three cycles of tales: *wayan purwa*, Pañji and minor stories, in contra-distinction to the enormous increase of subject-matter in Java provided by international Islamic romantic literature: the *Ménak Amir Hamza* cycle, *Yusup*, *Johar Manikam* and all the others (30.460—30.850). Since the flourishing period of Islamic Pasisir culture, Javanese literature offered a greater variety than Javanese-Balinese did, and so in Bali poets were led to develop one cycle of tales in particular: the Pañji romances.

This does not mean that in Java at any time Radèn Pañji disappeared from literature. The presentation of Pañji tales as plays of a special kind of puppet theatre, the *wayan gèdog*, and the identification of Pañji with the folk-tale prince, Radèn Mantri, warranted the continuous presence of the mythic

hero in Javanese literature since the seventeenth century.

Especially in their homeland, East Java, Pañji romances always retained their popularity, just like the Damar Wulan tale. Under the present head manuscripts of East Javanese Pañji tales are collected. Probably the oldest date from the seventeenth century. Perhaps they are descendents of the fifteenth or sixteenth century Pañji poem which in Poerbatjaraka's opinion ("Kapus-takan Djawi", 1952, p. 2) was the origin of the whole cycle, both in Java, in Bali and elsewhere. However this may be, at any rate Poerbatjaraka's discussion of an old Pañji manuscript of Palémbaꝋ origin (KBG cod. no. 185) in his "Pandji-verhalen" (KBG 1940, p. 156) is very interesting.

Pañji tales were incorporated in the major *Sĕrat Kaᅇᅇa*, the Book of Tales of the Pasisir period (see 22.900). They were considered as authoritative on ancient history of Java. The tale of the expedition to Bali and the victory over a Balinese queen in particular was found interesting. The Bali episode in Javanese Pañji romances may be based on a vague reminiscence of a Balinese expedition sent out by the Siᅇasari King Kĕᅇta Nagara in 1284 A.D. The relevant Nāgara Kĕᅇtāgama canto no. 42 (see the present author's "Java in the XIVth Century", vol. IV p. 127) seems to allude to the capture of a Balinese princess.

An East Javanese Pañji text in prose was edited by Roorda in 1869. In Javanese literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries prose texts of narrative literature are rare. Most tales are in verse. Probably prose texts developed out of scripts of professional story-tellers or performers of the wayaꝋ

theatre. Sometimes the rhythm of a story-teller is discernible in the prose text. Very few Ménak Amir Hamza tales are also known in rhythmic prose versions. The appearance of Pañji and Ménak texts in prose supports the opinion that both originally were related with ancient folk-tales, which were always told in rhythmic prose, and with the wayaꝋ performers' art.

30.871 East Javanese romance, Panji Kuda Wanĕꝋ Pati, in prose:

cod. KITLV Or 16, KITLV Or 17.

30.872 Pañji Priyĕmbada romance, East Javanese, in verse:

cod. 8941.

30.873 Pañji romance, Gunuꝋ Sari and Bali episodes, East Javanese, in verse:

cod. 3172.

30.874 Pañji Jaya Kusuma, Bali episode, East Javanese, in verse:

cod. CB 139.

30.875 Pañji Aᅇron Akuꝋ, Pañji between two beloved princesses, East Javanese, in verse:

cod. 2060, 2138-II (= 6750).

30.880 Later Javanese Pañji romances. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Pañji romances were re-written in the Court style of Surakarta by order of some princes who were interested in these tales. Court favour was not enduring, however. In the period of the classical renaissance of Javanese letters literati of Surakarta were more interested in adaptations of Old Javanese *kakawins* and in wayaꝋ purwa plays than in Pañji romances. Poerbatjaraka's "Pandji-verhalen onderling vergeleken" (KBG, 1940) contains summaries of Central Javanese Pañji poems.

Surakarta poets of the second half of the nineteenth century, epigones of the admired pujaṅgas of the renaissance period, published some Pañji romances in verse which were offshoots of the classical poem. Summaries of these late invented tales (Pañji Ḍaḍap, Pañji Sēkar, Pañji Raras, Pañji Wuluṅ) are to be found in the “Pratélan Buku-buku” (KBG, vol. I, 1920, p. 413, 419, 409, 495).

It is only for ease of survey that the relevant manuscripts have been registered under the present head, as a sequence of the older Pañji texts which were written in the Pasisir period of literature. In fact they belong to Era D, the renaissance period of

Central Java, which will be described hereafter.

30.881 Pañji Jaya Lēṅkara, Aṅrèni, with Bali episode, in verse:

cod. 1871 (= 6752), 10.988, NBS 24, NBS 159, NBS 169 (compendium), NBS 218.

30.882 Pañji Murta Smara, Bali episode, in verse:

cod. 1825 (= 6751).

30.883 Pañji Paniba, wayaṅ gēḍog play versified:

cod. 2029.

30.884 Kuda Narawaṅsa, Pañji romance in verse:

cod. 1816

30.900 The renaissance of classical literature at the Courts of Central Java in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.*

After a long period of dynastic troubles in Central Java, a compromise was reached at last in 1755. It consisted in the division of the old kingdom of Mataram into two halves, Surakarta and Yogyakarta. The Surakarta Court inherited most of the cultural assets of the preceding Kartasura period, which began about 1700 A.D. In Surakarta a renaissance of literature developed (see 00020, the fourth Era).

Probably several external factors co-operated in its development: the peace, the impetus of the building of the new capital, and the communication by shipping on the

Bēṅawan (also called Sālā river) with Grēsik, the ancient cultural centre of East Java, and overland with Sēmaraṅ, the modern centre of Dutch trade and administration in Central Java. The political troubles of the eighteenth century had been disastrous for cultural life in East Java; in the North Coast districts the mercantile towns fell into decay. The flourishing Pasisir culture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries lost its splendour, and the centre of Javanese culture shifted to the interior of the country, in the first place to the new capital Surakarta.

In consequence of mercantile connections with other Muslim countries overseas, the influence exercised by international Islamic culture had been strong in the Pasisir districts. Knowledge of Malay, the medium of inter-

* The belletristic texts which are discussed in the following paragraphs (30.900—31.468) belong to Era D of Javanese cultural history (see 00020). The literary idiom is modern Javanese (see 00030, group 5).

insular commerce, was widely spread, and in religious circles Arabic books were read. In the interior of Java, the Court, the gentry and the rural communities, though professing Islam, were less Islam-minded than the inhabitants of the coastal districts. Ancient indigenous religious belief and custom occupied an important place in their minds, and they were fascinated by the tales found in Old Javanese *kakawins* of Indian inspiration. Acquaintance with the Malay literary idiom was superficial.

It is improbable that in the flourishing period of the Pasisir culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Old Javanese *kakawins* had been completely disregarded. Perhaps understanding of the old texts still prevailed in some circles of scholars. On the whole, however, intellectual and artistic attention was focussed on Islamic texts of foreign origin and on Javanese adaptations of these texts, in the fields of religion, history and Belles-Lettres.

The turning of the attention of Javanese scholars from Islamic texts to Old Javanese *kakawins*, and the ensuing development of Surakarta Court literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were tantamount to a renaissance of classical Javanese literature.

The Surakarta renaissance of literature in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries was also notable in art, especially in theatrical art and music connected with wayang performances. No doubt wayang and all it stands for are of very old origin in Java, but its artistic development and penetration into all fields of Javanese culture seem to date from the renaissance period.

In the nineteenth century the cultural in-

fluence of the Central Javanese Courts of Surakarta (in a minor degree of Yogyakarta too) spread all over Java and the remnants of old Pasisir culture dwindled. In the judgment of nineteenth and twentieth century Javanese authors and scholars, Central Javanese Court literature and art were the only notable representatives of genuine Javanese civilization. The Pasisir literature was well-nigh forgotten, and the Pasisir art was deemed insignificant. This judgment was strengthened by the fact that since the middle of the eighteenth century the old Pasisir civilization had been overshadowed by modern Dutch colonial culture, which had its centres (in the Javanese part of the island) in the very districts where once the Pasisir towns had been flourishing: modern Europeanized Surabaya eclipsed old Ħampèl and Giri-Grèsik, once residences of Pasisir princes, and modern Sēmarang, the capital of all Central Javanese districts under Dutch administration, put the old towns of Japara, Kudus and Dēmak in the shadow.

The renaissance literature distinguished itself from the preceding Islamic Pasisir literature not only by its increasing interest in Old Javanese pre-Islamic origins but also by the more individualistic attitude of scholars and authors. Nearly all Javanese books of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even the most important ones, are without names of authors and without dates. In the eighteenth century, authors of Surakarta began regularly to mention dates and names of Royal patrons, sometimes also their own names, in the introductions to their work. So historical knowledge about renaissance literature is greater than about the products of the preceding period. Perhaps

in prefixing introductions to their works the poets of Surakarta imitated the authors of Old Javanese *kakawins*, which were dedicated to Royal patrons (see 30.010).

In the nineteenth century European influence, primarily exercised by the Dutch scholars residing in Surakarta at the time: Gericke, Winter and Wilkens, also led Javanese authors to more precision in personal details. Winter's "Javanese Conversations" contain valuable notes on the authorship of books written in his own time and in the preceding period, based on oral information provided by Surakarta Court scholars. Without Winter's efforts historical knowledge on seventeenth and eighteenth century Javanese literature would be still more deficient than it is. In the development of nineteenth century renaissance literature European influence increased in force with the time. In the second half of the century, in the Ranga Warsita period, it was notable everywhere.

In the flourishing period of the Surakarta renaissance literature, in the second half of the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth century, two scholars of the name Yasadipura, father and son, were the leaders. In due time the son, Yasadipura II, was given the grand name Sastra Nagara. He was a contemporary of the above-mentioned Dutch scholars and the grandfather of Ranga Warsita. It is difficult to distinguish between the work of Yasadipura I and II, because the son often re-edited books written by his father. The Kings of the time were personally interested in literature, and some of them were authors themselves. They were Paku Buwana III (reigned 1749-1789), Paku Buwana IV (1789-1820) and Paku Buwana V (1820-1823).

The renaissance was notable in all fields of literature. In Part One, Religion, of the present Synopsis moralistic-didactic poems written by authors belonging to this period have been mentioned (17.600—18.500). In Part Two, History, the great Babads written by the Yasadipuras have been discussed (26.800—27.000) and the, later, monumental Pustaka Raja by Ranga Warsita (28.400). Poerbatjaraka ("Kapustakan Djawi", 1952) has interesting notes on these authors and some others (Sindu Sastra, Kusumadilaga) belonging to the Surakarta renaissance.

The Old Javanese *kakawin* tradition waned in Java in the period of ascendancy of Islamic literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nevertheless manuscripts containing Old Javanese texts were preserved in Javanese libraries up to the nineteenth century. As a rule the Javanese tradition is more corrupt than the Balinese texts written on palmleaf (see 30.000). Surakarta scholars who studied the old texts, in the last decades of the eighteenth century, made modern Javanese paraphrases, still in the original Indian metres. These paraphrases are simplified versions; ordinary, generally understood expressions are substituted for difficult Old Javanese and Sanskrit ones. This literary idiom was called *kawimiriṅ*, sloping *kawi*, in contradistinction to the real *kawi* of the old texts (see 00050). Sometimes it was also called *jarwa* (originally *sajarwa*, from Sanskrit *ārjawa*, straight, hence: clear explanation).

Only some of the classic Old Javanese *kakawins*, mostly dating from the flourishing period of Kaḍiri literature in the twelfth century, were given *kawimiriṅ* versions.

The later *kakawins* were easier to understand for eighteenth century Javanese literati, and were also found less interesting.

Some *kawi miriṅ* versions were made of much studied moralistic and speculative texts (Paniti Sastra, Bima Suci). The Paniti Sastra version has been registered in Part One, Religion, of the present Synopsis (17.010). The Bima Suci *kawi miriṅ* was discussed by Poerbatjaraka ("Déwa Roetji", in Djawa, vol. 20, 1940). In his opinion both the *kawi miriṅ* text and the prose text (Nawa Ruci, edited by Prijohoetomo, 1934) are versions of an imperfectly known old poetic text, containing a streak of Buddhism, written in the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

Probably a majority of the *kawi miriṅ* texts of Old Javanese *kakawins* was written in the second half of the eighteenth century by the Surakarta Court poet Yasadipura I (see 30.940). Perhaps some simplified versions were made already in the beginning of the eighteenth century, in the Kartasura period, but there is no certainty on this point. In Poerbatjaraka's opinion ("Kapus-takan Djawi", 1952, p. 173) some *kawi miriṅ* texts were made after macapat versions, not after Old Javanese originals. If that is the case they would be comparable with Javanese-Balinese *kakawins* written in the eighteenth or nineteenth century (see 30.190).

No *kawi miriṅ* versions of Old Javanese *kakawins* have been published by European or Javanese scholars, because in the nineteenth century the superiority of the Balinese tradition of Old Javanese epic poetry soon became evident. By collation with Balinese manuscripts many mistakes made by

the Javanese authors of *kawi miriṅ* versions were traced. So the eighteenth century *jarwa* versions of Old Javanese *kakawins* did not contribute materially to a better understanding of the twelfth century literary idiom. Nevertheless the *kawi miriṅ* texts are remarkable witnesses of the eighteenth century Central Javanese scholars' application in studying classic literature.

Manuscripts containing relevant texts are listed in the General Index under the catchword *kawi miriṅ*.

30.901 Rāmāyaṇa *kawi miriṅ* :

cod. 1791, 2054, CB 24.

30.902 Brata Yuda *kawi miriṅ* :

cod. 1789, 2157-II, NBS 124.

30.903 Arjuna Sahasra Bahu, Arjuna Wijaya, Loka Pala, *kawi miriṅ* :

cod. 1793, 1855 (= 10.617 = BCB prtf 71), 2309, NBS 219.

30.904 Bima Suci, Déwa Ruci, *kawi miriṅ* :

cod. 1804, NBS 80-VII, NBS 207.

30.905 Rama *kawi miriṅ*, from Yogyakarta :

cod. 6201.

30.920 Wayaṅ suluks and kawins.

In the sphere of the wayaṅ theatre and the literature of wayaṅ plays many characteristic elements of pre-Islamic culture survive in the Islamic period of Javanese history. At crucial points in the wayaṅ performance songs are sung, marking changes of scenes. Since the eighteenth century wayaṅ performers traditionally use stanzas of Old Javanese *kakawins*, especially the Bhārata Yuddha, as texts of their songs. It is not known whether this tradition reaches back to pre-Islamic times, for old descriptions of wayaṅ performances are very brief. Perhaps already in the pre-Islamic period the wayaṅ

theatre, originating from exorcist rites, was associated with recital or chanting of Old Javanese epic poetry.

However that may be, certainly in many cases the wayaꦶ performers's songs are recognizable as stanzas borrowed from known texts. Perhaps *kawi miriꦶ* versions of the classical poems also were used to this end, beside or instead of the original Old Javanese texts. In the wayaꦶ tradition of Yogyakarta the songs are called *kawins*, evidently with reference to Old Javanese *kakawins* (see 00050).

In Surakarta the name of the wayaꦶ songs is *suluk*, an old word which also applies to the mystic songs belonging to religious

Islamic literature (see 14.900). The double use of the word *suluk* might suggest an interrelationship originally existing between sacral songs or hymns of religious communities of ancient Java on the one hand, and songs belonging to the rites of wayaꦶ performers, who were exorcists, on the other.

Under the present head manuscripts containing wayaꦶ *sulus* or *kawins* are collected. References to relevant texts are to be found in the General Index under the catchwords *kawin* and *suluk wayaꦶ*.

30.921 Bhārata Yuddha kakawin stanzas used in wayaꦶ performances:

cod. NBS 9, NBS 87 (= 10.730 = BCB prtf 214).

30.940 Belletristic poems of the Yasadipura period.

Probably seventeenth century Pasisir scholars still understood the Old Javanese poetic texts in Indian metres, though less clearly than their Balinese contemporaries did. In the eighteenth century Javanese scholars made simplified versions, still in Indian metres, of some texts. These *kawi miriꦶ* versions have been discussed in the preceding paragraphs (30.900).

Afterwards the pujaꦶngas of the Surakarta renaissance made poetic versions of the Old Javanese *kakawins* in the poetic idiom of their own time. These modern epical poems exercised an important influence in the development of nineteenth century Javanese literary style, and they were much imitated. Makers of wayaꦶ theatre plays borrowed plots and names of heroes and heroines from them, and they were repeatedly published by local printers in Java. The popularity of

modern Javanese versions of the old *kakawins* of Indian inspiration, and the spread of wayaꦶ plays connected with them, determined the aspect of nineteenth century Javanese literature and culture as retrospective, full of admiration for an imaginary past. Probably the rather languorous disposition observed in several nineteenth century romances, invariably turning on episodes of old epics, was partly caused by a dissatisfaction with actual circumstances in the poets' surroundings in Central Java, where modern European economic and social order was in the ascendant, and no less by a nostalgic yearning after ancient glory and splendour.

Under the present head eighteenth and nineteenth century renaissance versions of the twelfth century Old Javanese Bhārata Yuddha *kakawin* are collected. In modern Javanese it is called *Brata Yuda*. In

30.010 the important place of Brata Yuda texts in modern Javanese theatrical literature has been mentioned. Therefore it is given the first place, though it is possible that modern versions of other Old Javanese *kakawins* are older.

The modern Javanese Brata Yuda text in macapat metres was made by Yasadipura I, still in the reign of Paku Buwana III, and probably re-edited by his son. It was published by Cohen Stuart in 1860 (Verh. KBG vol. 27 and 28), provided with collations with the Old Javanese text. It has been reprinted several times. Probably the *kawi mirin* text is also the work of Yasadipura I (see 30.902).

30.941 Brata Yuda epic, by Yasadipura I and II, macapat verse:

cod. 1860, 2106, 2109, 2110, 2157, 2158 (= BCB prtf 27), NBS 6, NBS 7, NBS 104.

30.942 Brata Yuda macapat version, turned into prose by Winter:

cod. 2112, DFT S 240/280-27.

30.943 Brata Yuda, Dutch translation, with notes, by Gericke:

cod. 2111 a, 2111 b.

30.944 Brata Yuda epic, macapat verse, from Yogyakarta, extensive version:

cod. 8502.

30.950 *Sĕrat Rama* by Yasadipura. The Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* (see 30.000) was modernized in the same manner as the Old Javanese *Bhārata Yuddha*. A *kawi mirin* version is in evidence (see 30.901). Yasadipura made a version in macapat verse, called *Sĕrat Rama*, *Rama Book*, which was very much admired by contemporaries and subsequent generations for its literary quali-

ties. For a long time it was considered as the masterpiece of Surakarta renaissance literature. Poerbatjaraka ("Kapustakan Djawi", 1952, p. 135) has paid high tribute to the great Surakarta Court poet.

Yasadipura's *Rama* was edited by Winter (Verh. KBG vol. 21, 1846) and reprinted several times. Older versions of Yasadipura's *Rama*, such as are represented by the manuscripts collected under the present head, are shorter than the published text. Apparently the latter was enlarged by the editor.

It is worthy of note that Winter's important place among the scholars of the Surakarta Court literature became evident on the occasion of the appearance of Yasadipura's *Rama* version. King Paku Buwana VII required C. F. Winter to make a Javanese translation of an English summary (by Carey and Marshman) of Valmiki's Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, apparently because the King had been told by Dutch scholars that the Old Javanese *kakawin* was based on a Sanskrit epic. And so Winter's translation was made. About reactions on the King's part nothing is known.

30.951 *Rama* by Yasadipura, old version: *cod.* 2105, 10.838, NBS 3, NBS 4, NBS 149.

30.952 *Rama* by Yasadipura, incomplete texts, selections:

cod. NBS 5, NBS 87-III (*Aṣṭa Brata*, = 10.731 = BCB prtf 214), NBS 125.

30.953 *Rama* by Yasadipura, prose version by Winter:

cod. 3175, KITLV Or 2, KITLV Or 3.

30.954 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Winter's Javanese translation of an English summary of Valmiki's epic:

cod. 1834, NBS 225.

31.000 *Minta Raga*. The eleventh century *kakawin* *Arjuna Wiwāha* (see 30.020) was also rendered into modern Javanese in the renaissance period. In its new form the poem was called *Minta Raga* (not unlikely a corrupt form of *Wita Raga*, which is the name of another poem of Balinese origin, probably not known at the eighteenth century Surakarta Court, see 30.285). Poerbatjaraka ("Kapustakan Djawi", 1952, p. 133) mentioned two modern *Minta Raga* versions, one by King Paku Buwana III of Surakarta, dated 1778 A.D., and another by Yasadipura. Both were edited by Dutch scholars and published (Gericke, Verh. KBG vol. 20, 1844 and Palmer van den Broek, 1868). There are still more versions in evidence.

In the nineteenth century the *Minta Raga* was appreciated for its passages turning on religious speculation and ethics. It was considered as a counterpart of the *Déwa Ruci*, the speculative poem on Bima's quest for the Water of Life. In the *Cabolèk* tale (see 15.200) the two texts are compared.

31.001 *Minta Raga*, Paku Buwana III, edited by Gericke:

cod. NBS 10, NBS 194.

31.002 *Minta Raga*, Yasadipura, edited by Palmer van den Broek:

cod. 3179.

31.003 *Minta Raga*, variant version, macapat verse:

cod. 4938-II, NBS 234, KITLV Or I-II.

31.004 *Minta Raga*, prose version of the *Arjuna Wiwāha kakawin*:

cod. NBS 11, NBS 96, NBS 128.

31.005 *Minta Raga*, *Winata Kwaca Léna*, libretto of a wayang won festival at the Yogyakarta Court, 1937:

cod. KHA 0 no 7, 8, 9.

31.020 *Arjuna Sasra Bahu*. The *Arjuna Wijaya kakawin* written by Tantular at the Majapahit Court in the fourteenth century (see 30.125) was much appreciated by Surakarta poets of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to Poerbatjaraka ("Kapustakan Djawi", 1952, p. 143 and 155) two modern Javanese versions were made, one by Yasadipura II, and another by Sindu Sastra, the Court poet of a later King, Paku Buwana VII. In its modern shape the *Arjuna Wijaya* is called *Arjuna Sasra Bahu* or *Loka Pala*. The extensive (Sindu Sastra) version was published several times by local publishing houses in Java (*Loka Pala*, Semarang, 1866, *Arjuna Sasra Bahu*, Verh. KBG 1870, etc.). A prose version, made by Winter, was edited by Roorda (Amsterdam, 1845). The *kawi mirin* versions have been listed under 30.903.

31.021 *Arjuna Sasra Bahu*, epic poem by Yasadipura II:

cod. 2028, NBS 1.

31.022 *Arjuna Sasra Bahu*, epic poem, extensive version by Sindu Sastra:

cod. 1813.

31.023 *Arjuna Sasra Bahu*, fragment:

cod. 4064.

31.024 *Arjuna Sasra Bahu*, prose version by Winter:

cod. 1836, NBS 2, KITLV Or 255.

31.040 The *Nawa Ruci* tale, well-known in Javanese-Balinese literature (see 30.250), was several times used by Central Javanese poets as subject-matter of new poems. In his "Kapustakan Djawi" (1952) Poerbatjaraka, referring to the activity of the Court poets Yasadipura I and Yasadipura II, mentioned several probably eighteenth or nine-

teenth century poetic versions in Indian metres and in macapat verse. As a rule the later versions are called Déwa Ruci or Bima Suci. A Déwa Ruci text was published already in 1873 in Sēmarang. The tale was also dramatized as a wayan purwa play. *Kawi-mirin* versions have been registered under 30.904.

31.041 Bima Suci, macapat verse:
cod. 2318.

31.042 Déwa Ruci, macapat verse, concise version, illustrated, Yogyakarta:
cod. KHA 0 4.

31.043 Déwa Ruci, wayan purwa play, prose, Yogyakarta:
cod. CB 26 (= CB 129).

31.060 Ménak Amir Hamza epic, Yasadipura. The versatile Surakarta Court poets Yasadipura I and Yasadipura II also paid attention to the Ménak Amir Hamza tales, which were known in Java since the sixteenth century (see 30.460). In accordance with the encyclopedic tendency of the Surakarta renaissance of literature they wrote a comprehensive epic poem of the exploits of the Muslim hero. Many episodes described in older Ménak poems dating from the Pasisir period were incorporated into the poem, several were left out, however. Perhaps not all Ménak tales current in the Pasisir districts and East Java were known to the poets of Surakarta. This Ménak compendium is comparable with the great collections of wayan purwa plays (Paṇḍawa tales), and Pañji romances, also chronologically (or pseudo-chronologically) arranged by Surakarta Court scholars (31.080 and 30.880).

Poerbatjaraka's book on the Ménak cycle of tales (KBG, 1940) contains a summary of the epic. It was published several times, lastly by Balé Pustaka in Batavia (see Poerbatjaraka's "Kapustakan Djawi", p. 148) in 24 books, named after the principal personages, countries or events: 1: Ménak Saréyas, 2: Ménak Laré, 3: Ménak Sērandil, 4: Ménak Sulub, 5: Ménak Hajrak, 6: Ménak Dēmis, 7: Ménak Kaos or Ménak Jobin, 8: Ménak Kuristam, 9: Ménak Biraji, 10: Ménak Kanin, 11: Ménak Gandruṅ, 12: Ménak Kañjun, 13: Ménak Kaṇḍa Bumi, 14: Ménak Kuwari, 15: Ménak Cina, 16: Ménak Malébari, 17: Ménak Purwa Kaṇḍa, 18: Ménak Kustub, 19: Ménak Kala Kodrat, 20: Ménak Soraṅan, 21: Ménak Jamintoran, 22: Ménak Jaminambar, 23: Ménak Talsamat, 24: Ménak Lakad. The Ménak Lakad tale refers to an episode of the Prophet's life, therefore Lakad texts have been registered in the present Synopsis in Part Two, History (22.020). Many names of personages and countries appearing in the Ménak Amir Hamza epic are of Indian-Persian origin. Though corrupt in the Javanese texts, the original names often are identifiable by collation with the Malay hikayat Amir Hamza, written in Arabic script.

31.061 Ménak Amir Hamza epic, by Yasadipura, (almost) complete text:
cod. 1787.

31.062 Ménak Amir Hamza epic, Yasadipura version, loose episodes, beginning:
cod. 2027 (Ménak Laré, compendium), 2053 (Ménak Laré fragment), 2171 (Ménak Laré), 4028 (Ménak Laré), 10.799 (Ménak Laré), 10.810 (Ménak Laré etc.), NBS 48 (Ménak Laré etc.), NBS 150

(Ménak Laré etc.), CB 22, DFT S 240/280-15, DFT S 240/280-36.

31.063 Ménak Amir Hamza, Yasadipura, Central Javanese version, loose episodes, fragments and sequels:

cod. 2049 (compendium), 8499 (Ménak Dëmis, Kaṇḍa Bumi), 8555 (Ménak Kañjun), 10.986 (Ménak Malébari), 10.987 (Ménak Cina), NBS 49 (Ménak Jobin), DFT S 240/280-12 (Ménak Purwa Kaṇḍa), DFT S 240/280-35 (Ménak Kaos).

31.065 According to Poerbatjaraka ("Ka-pustakan Djawi", 1952, p. 149), the Sura-

karta Court poets Yasadipura I and II wrote or edited an Anbiya book, a History of the Prophets (see 21.700) in the same period as the Ménak epic. Perhaps the Iskandar, the History of Alexander, which is dated 1790 A.D., also is the work of a member of the Yasadipura family, or made by an admirer of their style. Unlike the Baron Sakèṇḍèr of Pasisir origin (see 26.200) which was published and known rather well in Central Java, the Iskandar never became popular.

31.066 Iskandar, History of Alexander, in verse:

cod. 1805.

31.067 Popular Rama tales.

Tales on Rama's struggle with Dasa Muka for the possession of Sita (often called Sinta) have been known in Java from ancient times, and in various versions (see 30.000). The literary Sanskrit version of Vālmiki was represented in Java by the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa and its descendants. Probably more popular tales about Rāma's exploits have been current in India from early times, and some of them reached Java at an early date. According to Stutterheim ("Rama "Reliefs in Indonesien", 1924), the stone reliefs on the walls of the old Central Javanese Śiwaite temple of Prambanan are illustrations of a Rāma tale which differs from the tale as told in the almost contemporary Old Javanese *kakawin*.

Be that as it may, Rama tales not in accordance with the *kakawin* tradition do not appear in written literature of the pre-Islamic period, but they do appear in the

Islamic Pasisir literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Sērat Kaṇḍa contains extensive Rama tales which apparently were used as models by makers of wayaṅ plays (see 23.100). In East Java and the Pasisir districts, Rama epics related with the Sērat Kaṇḍa tales, probably written in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, were popular. From East Java they spread to Bali and Lombok. Inter-relationship between these Rama tales, belonging to Javanese Pasisir literature, and similar tales written in Malay, the interinsular medium of communication of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, is evident.

Under the present head manuscripts containing popular Rama tales not in accordance with the Old Javanese Rāmāyaṇa *kakawin* are collected. Many Rama poems written in East Java were called Rama Kliṅ. Kliṅ or Kēliṅ seems to be an old name of a

district in the Brantas delta. Being related with the *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa* compendiums, the present Rama tales are older than the renaissancist poems in the *Yasadipura* style, and in some cases they were written in eastern or Pasisir districts, far from Surakarta. Nevertheless they have been registered between the renaissance poems (30.900—31.065) and the theatrical literature (31.080), because the three groups have several features in common, namely their relationship with pre-Islamic mythology, their epic character and their connection with the wayaṅ theatre.

31.068 Rama Kliṅ, East Java and Madura, complete texts and selected episodes, macapat verse:

cod. 2047, 2165, 3190, 3999, 4910, 4931, 4933, 4934, 8935, 9039, 9059, 9063, 10.985, Nst 14, REM 3893-1.

31.069 Rama epic, *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa*, wayaṅ style, East Java, macapat verse:

cod. KITLV Or 4, DFT S 229-128.

31.070 Rama tale, Javanese-Balinese, tĕḡḡahan verse:

cod. 4445 (= 10.496 = BCB prtf 16).

31.071 Ramayana Sasak, Javanese-Balinese, macapat verse, major version:

cod. 3780 (= 4446 = 10.681 = BCB prtf 162), 4447, KITLV Or 320.

31.072 Ramayana Sasak, Javanese-Balinese, macapat verse, variant version:

cod. 3803 (= 4448).

31.073 Rama Kliṅ, Javanese-Balinese, macapat verse:

cod. 4449, 4450.

31.075 Popular Rama offshoot romances. In consequence of the popularity of the Rama tales in the nineteenth

century, Central Javanese poets made additions and produced new versions. In many cases the additions, called *offshoots*, were used as scripts of wayaṅ plays, or they were originally invented by playwrights and afterwards written down in verse. A similar development prevailed with regard to other cycles of popular tales: *Mĕnak Amir Hamza* and *Radĕn Pañji* romances, and *Paṇḍawa* epical tales. In the case of the *Mĕnak Amir Hamza* romances the so-called offshoot romances had a remarkably luxuriant growth (see 30.480 ff.). The *Paṇḍawa* cycle offshoots are well known. A considerable part of the wayaṅ *purwa* plays contains invented tales, offshoots of the classical *Bhārata Yuddha*. The central tales of the *Mahābhārata* epic themselves are seldom played in the wayaṅ *purwa* theatre.

In the nineteenth century theatrical literature occupied an important place in Javanese letters. In wayaṅ *purwa* plays personages belonging to the Rama and *Paṇḍawa* cycles were made to meet one another. Hanuman, developing into the great white ape Anoman, appeared as wizard in plays where *Paṇḍawas* were the heroes. In some cases reincarnation of ancient heroes and heroines in personages belonging to a later period of legendary history was considered a plausible explanation of the reappearance of the same characters in subsequent generations. This reappearance is in fact a consequence of the prevailing religious sense of social and cosmic order, which required the presence of some well-known characters, representatives of aspects of the eternal social order, in all periods of human history. In the *Sĕrat Kaṇḍa* of the Pasisir era and in subsequent compendiums of tales this con-

cept of perennial order and repetition is prevalent (see 22.900).

Under the present head some manuscripts containing offshoots of the Rama tale, connected with the wayaṅ purwa theatre, are collected. Offshoots of the Paṇḍawa tales, and Paṇḍawa wayaṅ plays, are far more numerous than secondary Rama tales. This is in accordance with the greater popularity

of the Paṇḍawa heroes, in the first place Arjuna (Janaka) and Bima (Wĕrkudara), as compared with Rama.

31.076 Rama Nitis (Rama Reincarnated):
cod. 3169 (= 10.538).

31.077 Rama, extensive Yogyakarta version:
cod. 6789.

31.080 Theatrical Literature.

The great antiquity of the national puppet theatre, the wayaṅ in its various forms, is considered unquestionable by all European scholars who are interested in this fascinating feature of Javanese civilization. The peculiar shapes of the wayaṅ puppets, the head in profile, but the shoulders and the arms both visible, like ancient Egyptian relief figures, appear already in pre-Islamic East Javanese sculpture: decorative reliefs in stone on the outer walls of temples. In the twelfth century the Kaḍiri Court poet mpu Panuluh introduced *panakawan*-like personages, called Juru Dèh, Prasanta, into his *kakawin* Ghaṭotkacāśraya (see 30.080). *Panakawans*, astute servants and mentors of the hero, play an important part in Javanese theatrical literature. Probably the twelfth century Court poet borrowed them from contemporaneous popular tales. In ancient myths concerning the origin of cosmic and social order prototypes of the *panakawan*-mentors may have played an important role. The present author's book on "Javaanse Volksvertoningen" (1938) contains several chapters on the interrelationship of the wayaṅ theatre, folk-dances,

masques, mummeries and pageants with ancient native religious concepts (see also 43.000).

Contrary to the European scholars' opinion, nineteenth century Javanese literary tradition considered the wayaṅ theatre and related arts, gamĕlan music and puppet-carving, as due to the genius of the *walis*, the fifteenth and sixteenth century apostles of Islam in the Pasisir districts of Java. Perhaps this Javanese tradition can be harmonized with the scholarly opinion on the wayaṅ's great antiquity by assuming that in the *wali* period, under the influence of Islam — newly introduced — ancient pre-Islamic religious rites and practices, mostly kept secret before, were secularized, and ancient myths were divulged. In consequence of the rejuvenation of the spiritual climate, authors and artists felt at liberty to borrow elements of pre-Islamic ritual and sacral art, using them freely to develop a new Islamic Javanese culture. Viewed in this light the *walis*, though not inventors of the wayaṅ, were promoters of a new art and literature (see 15.600, 41.600 and 43.000, Javanese and Javanese-Balinese treatises on wayaṅ lore).

Next to nothing is known of the development of the wayan theatre during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in harmony with the renaissance of classical letters at the Central Javanese Courts, the ancient wayan theatre and theatrical literature attracted the attention of Court scholars. The ancient art of the wayan play performer, the *ḍalaṅ*, was studied and the plays, together with the *gamēlan* music, were developed and standardized. Probably the very intricate structure of wayan plays prevailing in Central Java since the beginning of the nineteenth century was developed by Surakarta Court *ḍalaṅs*, using ancient craft traditions as foundation. In the nineteenth century Surakarta and Yogyakarta *ḍalaṅ* art spread all over the country. The wayan theatre was a powerful instrument in unifying Javanese art and culture, introducing the Central Javanese literary idiom in outlying districts where it was imperfectly known.

The Javanese wayan theatre appears in several forms. The most popular kind is the so-called *wayan kulit* (a Javanese-Malay name), using polychrome flat buffalo-leather puppets with flexible arms. The *wayan kulit* theatre is spread all over Java; in Central Java, and especially in the Surakarta and Yogyakarta domains and dependencies, it is predominant. So it is in Bali, and in Lombok in those districts where Javanese-Balinese wayan is popular.

The *wayan golèk* comes next to the wayan kulit as to popularity. In *wayan golèk*, polychrome round wooden puppets with movable heads and arms are used. Heads made by gifted woodcarvers can be very expressive.

Wayan golèk is popular in the North Coast districts of Java, especially in the western part. In the interior of the country, in Surakarta and Yogyakarta, it is almost unknown (see 30.460).

Wayan won is the name given to the theatre with male and (sometimes) female actors, playing wayan plays, which developed in Central Java at the Royal and princely Courts in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century it was popularized. Travelling *wayan won* troupes of Central Javanese origin, visiting provincial fairs, spread theatrical wayan art all over the country.

Beside *wayan kulit*, *wayan golèk* and *wayan won*, minor kinds of wayan theatre are known in some districts of Java. Probably the *wayan bèbèr* sets, in some remote villages in the South of Central Java, date from the eighteenth century. No doubt the genre is much older. It consists of cotton scrolls, with polychrome pictures of dramatic scenes. The performer, while telling the story, exhibits the relevant part of the scroll. It is spread between two upright sticks fixed on a simple wooden box (see 31.140).

The *wayan krucil* or *klitik* puppets are flat wooden boards with flexible arms (see 30.850).

The dances of masked actors playing wayan plays also are expressive of the Javanese artists' theatrical genius. Hazeu's thesis on "Het Javaansche Tooneel" (1897) contains information on different kinds of Javanese theatre. In the present author's "Javaanse Volksvertoningen" Javanese masks, masked dances, mummeries and pageants are discussed.

In the nineteenth century Dutch scholars identified special kinds of wayan puppets with cycles of theatrical literature. It was thought that Paṇḍawa, Rama and Pañji plays always ought to be played with *wayan kulit* puppets, and Ménak Amir Hamza plays with *wayan golèk*. This distinction was suggested by authors from Surakarta who in their native district did not see *wayan golèk* performances of any importance. Inquiries in the North Coast and western districts of Java revealed the existence of *wayan golèk* sets used for playing wayan plays belonging to the Paṇḍawa, Rama, Pañji and Damar Wulan cycles as well as to the Ménak Amir Hamza cycle.

In the *wayan kulit* theatre a distinction has been made for a long time between *wayan purwa* and *wayan gèḍog*. The puppets have slightly different shapes, ornaments and weapons, and the plays belong to different cycles. The *wayan purwa* is identified with the Paṇḍawa and Rama cycles, and some plays which are considered connected with them, the *wayan gèḍog* is reserved for Pañji plays (see 31.130).

In the second half of the nineteenth century Surakarta authors, intent upon establishing historical order in the mass of theatrical literature, invented an intermediate kind of *wayan kulit*, called *wayan madya*, used for playing a cycle of plays based on tales which, in their opinion, belonged to the period between the defeat of the Korawas (the *wayan purwa*) and the rule of the Kaḍiri and Siṅsari Kings (the *wayan gèḍog*). The *wayan madya* plays never became popular. They are interesting, though, for they consist mostly of folk-tales made into plays (see 31.120).

Indeed several plays belonging to all cycles of the Javanese theatrical repertoire apparently are based on folk-tales or myths, survivals of ancient native literature. Only the names of heroes and heroines were borrowed from the great epics and classical romances of Indian inspiration.

Javanese theatrical literature also has its offshoots, in the same way as the Pañji, the Ménak Amir Hamza and the Rama epics (see 30.360, 30.510, 31.067). Especially in the offshoots, romantic poetry and plays of the wayan theatre appear to be closely connected. Probably in many cases, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, playwrights of wayan plays were the first to adapt folk-tales. Afterwards the plays, grown popular, were made into romances (see 31.230).

On some points, and in the names of heroes and heroines, Yogyakarta wayan tradition is different from Surakarta style. In other districts of Java even more differences can be observed. Remarkable is the variety of *panakawans* appearing in wayan purwa plays and connected romances belonging to different districts of Java. According to the middle nineteenth century Surakarta paṅjéran Kusumadilaga, a connoisseur, an eastern and a western tradition in wayan *panakawans* were discernible. The Surakarta Court ḍalaṅs, adhering to the eastern tradition, invariably put the triad Sēmar, Nala Garèṅ, Pétruk on the stage. In consequence of the spread of Surakarta art and literature all over the country, this triad became the most popular group in modern Java. The western tradition had a duet: Sēmar and Bagoṅ. Yogyakarta Court ḍalaṅs introduced a quartet: Sēmar, Garèṅ, Pétruk, Bagoṅ. In West Java and in East Java and Bali other

sets were popular. The sets of *panakawans* appearing in wayaṅ plays and romances can be used as indications of the origin of the texts. Almost everywhere Sēmar or a closely related personage plays the most important role. His relationship with ancient indigenous mythology is most probable (see the present author's "Javaanse Volksvertoningen", register). On the analogy of Sēmar, the secondary personages in the sets of wayaṅ panakawans, Garèṅ, Pétruk, Bagoṅ, etc., are also to be considered as personages originally belonging to an ancient sphere of thought. The interpretation of the names is difficult.

Manuals of wayaṅ play performers, *pakēms*, Surakarta. Probably Javanese wayaṅ play performers relied on orally transmitted tradition for the contents of their plays up to the beginning of the renaissance of classical letters in the eighteenth century. Some men of letters perhaps borrowed plots from the Sērat Kaṇḍa compendiums in order to make new plays. But then, the Sērat Kaṇḍa tales themselves were based on ancient tradition of professional story-tellers and wayaṅ play performers (see 22.900).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Javanese ḍalaṅs became familiar with the use of books containing concise prose notes on the plots of wayaṅ plays. Such books were called *pakēms*, manuals. In many cases the notes were so concise as to be almost incomprehensible for outsiders. In the middle of the nineteenth century some wayaṅ *pakēms* were amplified and worked into prose tales, sometimes even containing texts of the conversation of the personages. Lastly,

some complete texts of wayaṅ plays were written. They contain lengthy introductory speeches and descriptions, songs (called *suluks* or *karwins*, see 30.920) and conversations of the personages, all said by the ḍalaṅ, and indications of the gamēlan music to be played as accompaniment. As, according to ancient tradition, a wayaṅ play performance in grand style took the whole of a night, from about six p.m. till six a.m., and the ḍalaṅ was not allowed to leave his place, his task was a very heavy one.

Javanese authors also wrote plays in prose, sometimes rhythmic, meant to be reading-matter for literati interested in wayaṅ. A distinction must be made between the prose plays, the ḍalaṅ's manuals (*pakēms*) and the romances. The prose plays will be discussed under a separate head (31.260).

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries much attention has been given by Dutch scholars to wayaṅ art and wayaṅ literature. They rightly considered the wayaṅ as one of the most important features of Javanese culture, leaving its mark in all domains of Javanese life. Therefore Dutch scholars stimulated Javanese authors to write treatises on the art of the wayaṅ play performer. No doubt the interest shown by nineteenth and twentieth century Dutch scholars was instrumental in enlarging Javanese literature on wayaṅ.

Several collections of wayaṅ purwa plays, both concise epitomes and elaborate texts, have been published in Java, mostly with the title *Pakēm Ringit Purwa*. Complete texts, including dialogues of *panakawans* and indications of the gamēlan music, were published by Te Mechelen (Verh. KBG vol. 43 and 44, 1882-'84), a scholar who was

much interested in the wayan theatre. A Dutch synopsis of the plays, with illustrations, was written by Kats ("De Wajang "Poerwa", 1923). A complete Dutch translation of a wayan purwa play has been provided by Tjan Tjoe Siem ("Hoe Koeroepati "zich zijn vrouw verwerft", thesis Leiden, 1938) and Uhlenbeck-Soegiarto ("Aan-tekeningen bij Tjan Tjoe Siem's vertaling "van de Lakon Kurupati Rabi", Verh. KI, vol. 29, 1960).

The General Index contains the names of the plays with references to the manuscripts where summaries can be found.

31.081 Surakarta pakëms of wayan purwa plays, concise epitomes, prose:

cod. 1849 (23 plays), 1979 (= 10.662 = BCB prtf 144, 166 plays), 10.831 (72 plays), NBS 112 (= NBS 161, 24 plays).

31.082 Surakarta pakëms of wayan purwa plays, rather elaborate epitomes, prose, sometimes rhythmic:

cod. 1874 (3 plays), 2043 (2 plays), 2133 (39 plays), 2135 (7 plays), 2137 (10 plays), 3997-II (= 10.664 = BCB prtf 145, 39 plays), 4284 (= 10.632 = BCB prtf 76 = 4285 = 4286, 11 plays), 6432 (7 plays, and suluks), 6784 (59 plays), 6785 (47 plays), 10.832 (4 plays), 10.833 (2 plays), NBS 14 (39 plays), NBS 15 (3 plays), NBS 17 (45 plays), NBS 18 (= 10.661 = BCB prtf 143-I/II = BCB prtf 59, 56 plays), NBS 19 (10 plays), NBS 106 (3 plays), NBS 162 (7 plays).

31.100 Yogyakarta pakëms of wayan purwa plays are scarce. Most pakëms are based on the Surakarta tradition. Probably this is due to the fact that the nineteenth

century Yogyakarta Court did not possess Court scholars of the rank of the Yasadipuras of Surakarta. But then, in the second half of the century, the Yogyakarta wayan won theatre developed. Several texts of grand wayan won festivals at the Yogyakarta Court were written down and made into magnificent hand-written editions de luxe. Two copies were presented by Sultan Hamengkubuwana VIII to Queen Wilhelmina; they are in the Royal Household Archives at The Hague. The great wayan-won textbooks are excellent examples of Yogyakarta Court wayan tradition, which is distinguished from the Surakarta tradition by the number of the panakawans (four) and by numbers and names of secondary personages.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the semi-independent princely House Mangku Nagara of Surakarta developed a wayan won theatre and a kind of opera called Lanjèn Driya, which were greatly admired. The popularized wayan won theatre which in the twentieth century spread all over the country was more of a descendant of the Surakarta Mangkunagaran theatre than of the Yogyakarta Court festivals. The latter were scarcely accessible for outsiders and not well known by the general Javanese public. Moreover their slow movement and long dances made popularization impracticable.

Approximately between the years 1930 and 1942 Mr J. L. Moens of Yogyakarta, a connoisseur of things Javanese, induced some dalangs not belonging to the Court to write many wayan plays referring to subjects indicated by him. As Moens was interested in folk-lore, popular customs and beliefs, the dalangs' work contains much useful information on these matters. More-

over the polychrome illustrations in wayan style, profusely inserted in the books, are truly illuminating. In many cases it is clear that the plays are made to order, play-writing being for *ḍalaṅs* a familiar mode of expression of traditional knowledge and belief.

The Purwa Kaṇḍa which has been listed under the present head contains Yogyakarta Court tradition in the field of epic history. The text was an authority for the writers of the plays which were performed in the great *wayan won* festivals of the Yogyakarta Court.

31.101 Yogyakarta pakēms of wayan purwa plays:

cod. 6426, 6786, 10.564 (= BCB prtf 48, purwa, *gēḍog* and *krucil*).

31.102 Yogyakarta Court wayan won festivals:

cod. 6790 a, b (Bomatara), KHA 0 5, KHA 0 6 (Samba Léna and Sucipta Hēniṅ Minta Raga).

31.103 Yogyakarta popular wayan purwa plays, folkloristic information, collection Moens:

cod. 10.887 - 10.891 (100 plays, all referring to Bima).

31.104 Yogyakarta popular wayan purwa, *gēḍog* and *kliṭik* plays, folkloristic information, collection Moens:

cod. 10.921 (16 plays), 10.892 - 10.900 (241 plays, all referring to panakawans).

31.105 Yogyakarta popular wayan purwa plays, folkloristic information, collection Moens:

cod. 10.905 - 10.906 (41 plays, all referring to Gaṭotkaca).

31.106 Yogyakarta popular wayan plays, folkloristic information, collection Moens:

cod. 10.967 - 10.968 (progeny of panakawans).

31.107 Yogyakarta popular wayan purwa plays, folkloristic information, collection Moens:

cod. 10.925 (origin of the wayan lamp), 10.970 (Guntur gēni, etc.).

31.108 Purwa Kaṇḍa, epic tales, Yogyakarta, Sultan Amēṅku Buwana V:

cod. 10.886.

31.120 Wayan Madya plays. In all respects the *wayan purwa* literature of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries rose high above the plays belonging to the other dramatic cycles, *wayan madya*, *gēḍog*, *kliṭik*, *Ménak*. The spread of Surakarta art and letters all over the country benefitted only the *wayan purwa* theatre. In Surakarta the other kinds have long been insignificant compared with *wayan purwa* and so Surakarta influence did not lead to a rich development of *wayan gēḍog* and *Ménak* theatrical literature in Central Java.

Nevertheless, in order to complete the whole of dramatic art, some Surakarta scholars also wrote manuals of plays belonging to the minor wayan kinds. The idea of historical continuity in the subsequent cycles, *wayan purwa*, *madya*, *gēḍog*, *kliṭik* and *Ménak*, inspired them. No doubt the idea emanated from the sense of cosmic and social unity and interrelationship which was preponderant in the Javanese mind.

The *wayan madya* plays which have been registered under the present head were written by order of Prince Maṅku Nagara IV of Surakarta. Probably Taṇḍa Kusuma was the author of most of them. They should fill the gap in time existing in the Surakarta

scholars' opinion between the end of the Paṇḍawa cycle and the beginning of the *gěḍog* cycle. A set of wayaṅ puppets, in some respects different from those belonging to the other cycles, were made at the Prince's order. The *wayaṅ madya* never become popular, though, even in Surakarta. The idea of filling the gap by means of a *wayaṅ madya* appealed also to other Javanese playwrights, namely the obscure authors of popular Yogyakarta plays mentioned by Moens's informants (see *cod.* 10.922, *para.* 43.150).

The Maṅkunagaran *wayaṅ madya* pakēm was published in the thirties by Balé Pustaka in Batavia.

31.121 Surakarta pakēm of wayaṅ madya plays, Maṅkunagaran:

cod. 6683 a-e.

31.130 Wayaṅ Gěḍog plays. Though far less popular than the *wayaṅ purwa* cycle, *wayaṅ gěḍog* plays did attract the attention of some late nineteenth and twentieth century Surakarta authors. Again the idea of completing the whole of allegedly historical dramatic literature, beginning from the time of ancient myths and epics down to the period of Javanese Royalty, was the incentive. The *wayaṅ madya* and *wayaṅ gěḍog* pakēms of Surakarta were written by admirers of Raṅga Warsita's encyclopedic work on Javanese history, the Pustaka Raja (see 28.400). Unlike the *wayaṅ purwa* plays, *wayaṅ gěḍog* pakēms were hardly ever published.

Under the present head some *wayaṅ gěḍog* pakēms of Surakarta and Yogyakarta origin, written or collected by Javanese scholars, have been registered. In Surakarta and Yogyakarta *wayaṅ gěḍog* lakons were sel-

dom played. In some districts of East Java, and in Bali, wayaṅ plays connected with the Pañji (Balinese: Malat Kuṅ) romances still were comparatively popular. But pakēms originating from these parts are not in evidence. Probably ḍalaṅs adhered to the old custom of making up their own plays from literary texts and oral tradition.

31.131 Yogyakarta pakēm of wayaṅ gěḍog plays:

cod. 6428 (51 plays).

31.132 Surakarta pakēms of wayaṅ gěḍog plays:

cod. 6509 (Pěksi Gaṭayu), 10.666 (= BCB prtf 146, 44 plays).

31.140 The Wayaṅ Bèbèr theatre, exhibiting polychrome pictures on scrolls, is well-nigh extinct (see 31.080). On account of the supposedly great antiquity the still existing *wayaṅ bèbèr* scrolls attracted the interest of Dutch scholars, and some papers were written on the subject (Hazeu, Wayaṅ bèbèr Grogol, Gunuṅ Kidul, Yogyakarta, Not. KBG vol. 40, 1902, p. CLVI, and R. A. Kern, Wayaṅ bèbèr Pacitan, TBG vol. 51, 1909).

The plays belong to the Pañji cycle of tales.

31.141 Wayaṅ bèbèr notes:

cod. 10.934, KITLV Or 354.

31.142 Pañji Jaka Kěmbaṅ Kuniṅ, wayaṅ bèbèr play:

cod. 10.834.

31.150 In the second half of the nineteenth century great noblemen of Surakarta and Yogyakarta organized house theatricals. The best known was the Laṅĕn Driya, originally also called Mandra Swara, be-

longing to the Maṅkunagaran House. Its plays were adaptations of the Damar Wulan romance (30.850). The text, in verse, was sung by the dancers, all women. So travesty was an element of the performance. In the twentieth century the Maṅkunagaran Laṅṅ Driya became popular. The text was published by Balé Pustaka, Batavia, about 1930.

In the beginning of the twentieth century in Yogyakarta the magnificent *wayan won* festivals of the Sultan's Court stimulated the grand-vizir Danu Rēja to organize house theatricals called Laṅṅ Wanara. The play was taken from the Rama epic, and monkeys were prominent actors in the performance. The text has not been published.

Almost contemporaneous with the Maṅkunagaran Laṅṅ Driya the Surakarta prince Prabu Wijaya organized similar musical house theatricals. But then he chose Ménak Amir Hamza tales to be adapted as plays. The actors were boys, playing female roles in travesty. After the noble sponsor's death this Ménak theatre declined and fell into oblivion. The texts were not published.

31.151 Surakarta pakēm of Ménak Amir Hamza plays, musical:

cod. 6787.

31.160 *Pasiṅdèn Běḍaya*. Of old, at the Surakarta and Yogyakarta Courts, dances and songs of female performers were appreciated and cultivated. A slow and stately dance with intricate labyrinthic figures, performed by nine girls called *běḍayas*, and accompanied by songs, called *pasiṅdèn*, and gamēlan music, belonged to the Susuhunan's and Sultan's Royal prerogatives. By custom none other than the King was allowed to have *běḍayas*. Probably the dance

is related to sacral performances mentioned in Old Javanese literature, and originally it was a rite connected with a cosmic and social myth. In Surakarta and Yogyakarta, but especially in Surakarta, the great *běḍaya kětawan* dance was performed only at state functions: it was always a very solemn ceremony. The *běḍaya* performance has been discussed in the present author's "Javaanse 'Volksvertoningen'" and "Java in the XIVth Century".

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the *běḍayas* did not sing themselves. The singers sat with the gamēlan orchestre. Perhaps originally the songs were sung by the dancers, however. Poerbatjaraka ("Kapus-takan Djawi", 1952, p. 145) discussed a Pasiṅdèn Běḍaya text made by the early nineteenth century Court poet Yasadipura. It is a short poetic version of the Déwa Ruci tale. As Déwa Ruci texts were considered to contain information on a profound religious mystery (see 30.250), their connection with the *běḍaya* performance, originally a religious rite, is significant.

Meanwhile, the texts sung on the occasion of *běḍaya* performances prior to the Yasadipura period are unknown. It is probable, though, that the Court poet adhered to old tradition, and confined himself to a modernization in form and idiom of an old text.

Since the mysterious *běḍaya* songs had provoked public curiosity, already in 1866 Pasiṅdèn Běḍaya texts were published by a local printer in Sēmarang. The book contains mostly lyric erotic songs. These Pasiṅdèn Běḍaya texts are remarkable as specimens of lyric erotic poetry deemed acceptable in high literature of the Islamic period. As a rule this kind of poetry is relegated

to the sphere of popular literature (see 31.380). In Javanese-Balinese literature, however, lyric erotic poems were well known (see 30.170). In a way the Pasiṇḍèn Běḍaya may be comparable with the Javanese-Balinese songs of female dancers called Gěṇḍiṇ Sanyar (30.184).

31.161 Pasiṇḍèn Běḍaya, songs belonging to the běḍaya performance at the Surakarta Court:

cod. NBS 94 (= 10.629 = BCB 75), NBS 200.

31.170 Lyric Songs, Music. In Javanese civilization music, both instrumental and vocal, has been important at all times. It was seldom noted down, however (see 42.500). The Surakarta renaissance of letters of the nineteenth century brought also an increasing interest in Javanese music. The house theatricals of Surakarta and Yogyakarta noblemen (see 31.150) always contained musical performances.

At the Court of Prince Maṅku Nagara IV of Surakarta, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, music was very much appreciated and cultivated. Lyric poems were made especially to be sung. Waṅsalans (see 31.380), the well-known Javanese literary charades based on assonance, rhyme and enigmas, occupied an important place in this kind of poetry. Maṅku Nagara IV was an author himself (see 31.360). A collection of lyrics was published by a local printer of Surakarta.

The Maṅkunagaran princes even took an interest in European (military marching) music. Lělaṇḍèn Ēropah is an endeavour to harmonize Javanese and European vocal music.

31.171 Sěṇḍon Laṇḍen Swara, lyric songs, Surakarta:

cod. KITLV Or 32.

31.172 Lělaṇḍèn Ēropah, Javanese songs, adaptations of European military marching music:

cod. KITLV Or 35.

31.173 Rěrěpèn Gandruṅ Asmara, lyric erotic poems:

cod. 11.091.

31.190 Wayaṅ exorcism. Of old, in Java, exorcism of malignant spirits was an important element in religious practice, though probably less so than in Bali, where fear of witches and concomitant exorcist rites were very much in evidence (see 12.400 and 30.225). Exorcist rites may have been the origin of most of the wayaṅ theatre. In the Islamic period of Javanese cultural history exorcism by means of a special *wayaṅ purwa* performance has survived the decline of Old Javanese religion. Wayaṅ exorcism probably is the most outstanding instance of the survival of a pre-Islamic rite without any Muslim influence in evidence. Exorcist wayaṅ plays contain tales of the origin of the malignant spirit Kala who is considered the cause of evil. Therefore the plays are called Murwa Kala.

Javanese wayaṅ exorcist texts have not been registered in Part One, Religion, of the Synopsis, like the Javanese-Balinese exorcist texts (12.400 ff.), because in the Islamic period of cultural history exorcism is no longer associated with religion. With good reason Murwa Kala exorcism might be called a magic practice, and therefore discussed in Part Four, under the head magic. But then, Javanese authors seem to be unanimous in

calling Murwa Kala only a special kind of wayaꦱ performance. They know of other wayaꦱ plays which are performed for special purposes: on the occasion of an annual village celebration, a wedding, and even to make rain in a period of drought. Javanese opinion is not for making a difference between Murwa Kala and other wayaꦱ plays. In fact, all wayaꦱ plays are still considered by thoughtful people as somehow partaking of the character of mysteries. Therefore it seems best to register Javanese wayaꦱ exorcism in the present Part Three, with the other kinds of wayaꦱ texts. In Javanese civilization the wayaꦱ lore occupies a central place, connected on all sides with the other domains of learning, both sacral and profane.

In the twentieth century Murwa Kala exorcism has been the subject of several papers written by Dutch scholars. Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *exorcism*.

31.191 Exorcist texts in verse, Paꦁruwatan, West Javanese origin:

cod. 5593, 7847.

31.192 Murwa Kala wayaꦱ play, exorcism, Surakarta, Yogyakarta:

cod. 6431, 6525, 6526.

31.210 Wayaꦱ Romances, Versified Plays and Textbooks. In the Pasisir districts and East Java, well-ordered pakẽms, manuals for theatrical literature for the use of ꦒalaꦱs, were very scarce. Unlettered wayaꦱ performers relied on their memory, and those who were comparatively lettered made up wayaꦱ plays from elements borrowed from books of tales. But on the other hand, well-known and popular wayaꦱ

plays were often versified and edited by poets, who enlarged them in order to make sizable books. In many cases it is difficult to say whether the wayaꦱ play or the poetical romance is the oldest form of a well-known tale. Probably since the flourishing period of the Sěrat Kaꦁða literature, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, interaction was the rule. In the period of the renaissance of classical letters in Surakarta the interaction came to light in consequence of the appearance of many wayaꦱ plays in written literature; before that time they were mostly transmitted orally.

In East Java and Madura several wayaꦱ purwa plays have been versified or made into prose romances since the middle of the nineteenth century. Of course many tales show similarity with passages of the major Sěrat Kaꦁða, which belongs to an older period, but the later poems and romances seem to contain particulars and insertions which probably are due to the phantasy of wayaꦱ performers.

Under the present head some East Javanese epic and romantic poems and prose tales based on wayaꦱ plays, or closely connected with them, have been collected. Some of them were believed to have exorcizing influence, if recited. Darma Jati is also known in Bali.

31.211 Darma Jati, Javanese-Balinese version:

cod. 4181 (= 10.500 = BCB prtf 18), AdGUB 59, AdGUB 60.

31.212 Darma Jati, East Javanese, Javanese-Madurese version:

cod. 4947, RtMLV 28820 (= 6824), 8664, 9025, 10.555 (= BCB prtf 43 B, fragment), CB 8.

31.213 ꦢaꦁyaꦱ Kapuluꦗan, in prose, from

Bañuwañi:

cod. 4288 (= 4289 = 10.633 = BCB prtf 77).

31.214 Pěrcuna, versified, Javanese-Madurese:

cod. 4868 (= 10.683 = BCB prtf 167).

31.215 Darma Kusuma, versified, East Javanese origin:

cod. 4894 (= 10.690 = BCB prtf 173).

31.216 Jabělan Astina, versified, East Javanese origin:

cod. 4932 (= 10.697 = BCB prtf 178).

31.217 Various versified plays, East Javanese origin:

cod. 4938, REM 2244-1.

31.218 Paṇḍawa Raré and Arjuna Wiwaha, in verse, Madura:

cod. KITLV Or 1 (= BCB prtf 46).

31.230 Central Javanese wayaṅ romances. Poets of Surakarta, flourishing in the middle of the nineteenth century, and belonging to the generation following on the period of Yasadipura (Sastra Nagara), specialized in wayaṅ literature. Sindu Sastra was a prominent author among them. His extensive Arjuna Sasra Bahu version (31.022) was much admired. He also wrote a quartet of poetical romances corresponding with wayaṅ purwa plays called Parta Yagña, Srikaṇḍi-maguru-manah, Sěmbadra Laruṅ and Cěkèl Endralaya. His Parta Yagña has another plot than the Old Javanese *kakawin* Pārtha Yajña (30.135).

Another Surakarta poet of the time was Kusumadilaga, a Royal prince who was a connoisseur of wayaṅ. His treatise on the history of the Javanese theatre, called Sastra

Miruda (see 43.040), contains valuable information. According to Poerbatjaraka ("Kapustakan Djawi", 1952, p. 156) he was the author of several versified wayaṅ plays.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries wayaṅ romances in verse in the style of Sindu Sastra and Kusumadilaga were the favourite reading-matter of Central Javanese ladies and gentlemen. The books were several times published by local printers in Java, and the authors had several imitators. Probably the nostalgic predelection for this kind of romance in verse, set in fancy surroundings, completely at variance with everyday life, was a consequence of the psychic tension in Javanese society (which still retained many features of olden times), caused by the growing influence of modern European economy and social order in the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century the Javanese reading public, accustomed to the fanciful wayaṅ romances, was slower in its adaptation to the modern kind of belletristic literature, the psychological novel in prose, set in contemporary surroundings, than Malay or Sundanese speaking people, who were less impressed by the splendour of old world epic tales as presented in the wayaṅ theatre.

In consequence of the popularity of versified wayaṅ purwa romances, manuscripts containing these texts sometimes were provided with illustrations in wayaṅ style. In the General Index they have been listed under the catchword *illustrations*.

31.231 Parta Yagña, Parta Krama, Srikaṇḍi maguru manah, Sěmbadra Laruṅ, Cěkèl Endra Laya, by Sindu Sastra:

cod. 1807 (= 6788 = 10.660 = BCB prtf 142).

31.232 Karta Piyoga malin, by Kusumadilaga:

cod. 6689.

31.233 Srikanḍi maguru manah:

cod. 2326.

31.234 Parta Krama:

cod. 8557.

31.235 Kaṇḍi Awa and Minta Raga:

cod. 2139.

31.236 Alap-alapan Sēmbadra and Srikanḍi maguru manah:

cod. 3997 (compendium = 4290 = 10.663 10.665 = BCB prtf 145).

31.237 Balé Gala-gala:

cod. 1869.

31.238 Boma, Bomantaka:

cod. NBS 81-VIII (= 10.641 = BCB prtf 78), BCB prtf 46.

31.239 Basu Déwa, Sēmar ṇamé, Yogyakarta:

cod. 6416 (Sēmar ṇamé), KITLV Or 5 (Basu Déwa).

31.240 Abimanyu krama:

cod. 6417.

31.241 Narayana Mégatara, Yogyakarta:

cod. 8909.

31.242 Tuṅgul Wuluṅ:

cod. 2327.

31.243 Kalantaka, Samba Lēṅlēṅ:

cod. NBS 81-IX (= 10.642 = BCB prtf 78).

31.244 Sēmar Kuniṅ:

cod. CB 25 (= BCB prtf 46).

31.245 Caluṅṭaṅ (Gaṭotkaca), Pasisir:

cod. 10.781.

31.246 Parta Smara:

cod. 6578 (compendium).

31.247 Sēkar Tuṅjuṅ Tuwuh iṅ Séla:

cod. 11.087.

31.260 Textbooks of wayaṅ plays.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the increasing interest in wayaṅ literature led Javanese authors to write texts of wayaṅ plays, complete with the ḍalaṅ's introductions and descriptions in rhythmic prose (see 00020) and the dialogues. The most elaborate texts contained also the ḍalaṅ's songs (suluks) and the *panakawans'* jokes. It is likely that the Javanese authors were prompted by Dutch scholars who wanted detailed information on the wayaṅ.

Some texts of wayaṅ purwa plays were published by nineteenth century Dutch scholars, in the first place Roorda ("De 'Wajangverhalen van Pala Sara, Paṇḍoe 'en Radèn Pandji", 1869), who rightly considered the wayaṅ plays the most representative element of belletristic Javanese literature of his time.

31.261 Paṇḍu, complete text, prose:

cod. 2134.

31.262 Palasara krama, complete text, prose:

cod. KITLV Or 20.

31.263 Abiyasa, complete text, prose:

cod. 2193.

31.264 Pērgiwa, in prose:

cod. 5788 (incomplete).

31.265 Sēmbadra wayuh jalēr, Sri Maṅṅkuṅ, in prose:

cod. 3181.

31.266 Sēmbadra Laruṅ, complete text, prose:

cod. 6404.

31.267 Jaya Murcita, in prose:

cod. NBS 16.

- 31.268 Boma Kalantaka, in prose, Madura : *cod.* 2044-II (= 10.680 = BCB prtf 161).
cod. NBS 71.
- 31.269 Sětya Bama, in prose, Yogyakarta : *cod.* 4287 (fragment).

31.280 European Influence on Javanese Literature in the Nineteenth Century.

In the first decades and the middle of the nineteenth century three Dutch scholars, Gericke, Winter and Wilkens, were working on the Javanese-Dutch dictionary in Surakarta (see 45.450). Social intercourse with these men exercised a considerable influence on Javanese authors of the time. Two members of the Winter family, father and son, developed into Javanese authors themselves. They were cooperators of professor Roorda, of Delft and Leiden, the founder of modern Javanistic studies in The Netherlands, who never visited Java himself (see Uhlenbeck, "The Languages of Java and Madura", 1964). Several Javanese books written by C. F. Winter, the father and F. L. Winter, the son, have been published in The Netherlands and in Java.

Evidently prompted by professor Roorda and other scholars, the Winters translated several Dutch books into Javanese prose. It was thought necessary to enlarge the supply of prose reading-matter especially for the use in schools. The translations of the Winters, though in a way appreciated by Javanese literati as sources of information on an unknown world outside Java, never became popular books, however.

Another nineteenth century belletristic text is a translation of a European play, Montoni. The author is unknown.

The translation of European books in the nineteenth century prepared the way for the introduction of the modern form of belle-

tristic reading-matter, the novel, into Javanese literature. The modern novellistic tales will be discussed in 31.440. The Government Bureau for the propagation of popular literature ("Kantoor voor de Volkslectuur", Balé Pustaka), which was established in Batavia in the first decades of the twentieth century, continued a tradition of translating foreign literature which had its beginning nearly one hundred years before.

Under the present head manuscripts containing various works of the Winters have been collected.

31.281 Cariyos Sěwu, Arabian Nights, prose translation by C. F. Winter :
cod. 1839, NBS 205.

31.282 Cariyos Sěwu, Arabian Nights, selected tales, versified by C. F. Winter :
cod. NBS 53, NBS 54.

31.283 Anecdotes, didactic stories, translated by C. F. Winter :
cod. 2147.

31.284 Plays, farces, of European origin, epitomized in Javanese prose by C. F. Winter :
cod. 2184.

31.285 Montoni, play of European origin, versified :
cod. 6490.

31.286 Stories for children, Baron von Münchhausen, Javanese prose by C. F. Winter :
cod. 2153.

31.300 Historical Novels.

The increasing interest in belletristic literature induced Javanese authors of the nineteenth century to write novellistic tales and poems. Partly the tales were set in historical surroundings so as to make the impression of trustworthy information on interesting events occurring in former times at Court or in the country. The Prana Citra and Jaka Paṅasih historical novels, which are set in Central Java in the seventeenth or the eighteenth century, probably are based on old folk-tales. Some interrelationship with the Nitik Sultan Agung tales (26.000) and the wali legends (24.500) seems likely. The Javanese-Madurese Baṅsa Cara legend (22.390) is also to be mentioned in this connection.

The Javanese-Balinese ballads dealing with the history of Majapahit, Raṅga Lawé etc., which have been discussed in 20.700, seem to be closely related with epic literature. They turn on warlike exploits of noble heroes. Therefore they have been registered in Part Two, History, of the Synopsis. The novellistic character of the poems which are listed below is apparent from the choice of the heroes and heroines, who belong mostly to the middle classes of society, and from the plots of the tales, which turn on romantic adventures.

The authorship of the Jaka Paṅasih historical novel is ascribed to the younger Yasa-dipura. The Prana Citra has been translated into Dutch by Berg. Raṅsarj Tuban is a historical novel which was published by "Volkslektuur".

31.301 Prana Citra :
cod. BCB prtf 46.

31.302 Jaka Paṅasih :
cod. 6688.

31.303 Sèh Gawaran :
cod. 7377.

31.304 Raṅga Séna of Pajajaran :
cod. 7421.

31.320 J a v a n e s e - C h i n e s e r o m a n - c e s. In all periods of Javanese history Chinese immigrants have played an important role. In Javanese art Chinese influence is apparent (see the present author's "Javaanse "Volksvertoningen", register, under the catchword Chinese). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Chinese traders became well-nigh predominant agents in Javanese inland economy, and in the first decades of the twentieth century wealthy Chinese merchants were leading residents in all Javanese towns. Trade flourished where peace and order were ensured by the presence of Dutch authority.

In Chinese communities in the Archipelago, Malay, the interinsular medium of trade, was the dominant language. In consequence of connections with native women the Chinese idioms of the immigrants were superseded within the time of two or three generations. In many districts Chinese traders grew familiar with local manners and the local idiom. Some members of Chinese families of long standing in Java developed into connoisseurs and patrons of Javanese art and literature. Some became Javanese authors themselves.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries there were Chinese patrons of literature who, in memory of their origin, caused Chinese

historical romances to be translated into Javanese, versified in the manner of wayan tales. In Central Java even a kind of wayan theatre resembling the *wayan kulit* was developed for use in Javanese performances of Chinese historical plays. Javanese-Chinese theatrical art and literature of this kind did not become popular outside the circle of influence of the wealthy Chinese patrons. The difficulty of remembering the numerous Chinese names mentioned in the texts discouraged readers. Brandes published a paper on the Lo Thorj romance (TBG vol. 45, 1902).

Under the present head manuscripts of Javanese versified versions of Chinese tales

are collected. Manuscripts containing references to China and Chinese activities in Java have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *Chinese*.

31.321 Li Si Bin:

cod. 2140, 2151 (= 10.727 = BCB prtf 210).

31.322 Lo Thorj:

cod. 4295.

31.323 Waŋ Torj:

cod. 8812.

31.324 Sam Pik Iŋ Taé, and Aŋ Dok:

cod. 3996.

31.325 Ma Dya O, incomplete:

cod. 10.984.

31.340 Late Nineteenth Century Belletristic Literature.

The Pustaka Raja by Raŋga Warsita (28.400), who was called the last of the Surakarta pujangas, was a source of inspiration for authors of historical belletristic books. In his time the tales of the Pustaka Raja were still considered trustworthy information on history. In fact most of the tales are inventions based on folk-tales. In many cases connection with wayan plays is in evidence. Poerbatjaraka ("Kapustakan "Djawi", 1952, p. 155-166) provides interesting information on Raŋga Warsita; he discusses the author's prose works Paramayoga, Jitapsara (probably a corruption of Jitāk-sara), Pustaka Raja and his poetical romance Cēmporèt, which is based on Sērat Kaṇḍa tales.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth some Javanese authors made versified adap-

tations of parts of Raŋga Warsita's Pustaka Raja. Under the present head some specimens are registered.

31.341 Buḍayana, versified Pustaka Raja tale by Jaya Atmaja:

cod. 8561.

31.342 Pustaka Raja tales versified, by Maŋku Winata:

cod. 8558.

31.343 Sri Gandana, romantic didactic tale in verse:

cod. 7470.

31.344 Waluya Jati Wisésa, prose:

cod. 11.087-II.

31.360 In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Court of Prince Maŋku Nagara IV of Surakarta was a centre of literary and artistic activity. Music was cultivated (see 31.170). Panēmbrama texts

in *kawi mirin* metres were written (see 00050). There was co-operation in the field of literature between the prince and Raṅga Warsita (see 18.400). Taṇḍa Kusuma, a member of the Maṅkunagaran House, was the author of wayaṅ plays. The wayaṅ madya cycle of plays and the special wayaṅ madya puppets were inventions of authors and artists belonging to the Maṅkunagaran Court (see 31.120).

In consequence of the popularity of this literature, which was a second blossoming of the classical renaissance of letters in Surakarta, many books were published by local printers in Java. The collected poetical works of Maṅku Nagara IV were re-edited in Surakarta between 1925 and 1935. A compendium of poems dating from the last decades of the nineteenth century and belonging to the school of Maṅku Nagara IV and Raṅga Warsita has been registered under the present head. Many of them seem to be copies of printed texts.

31.361 Surakarta anthology of poetry, Maṅku Nagara IV etc.

cod. 8577.

31.380 **Literary Charades and Popular Lyrics.** Javanese poets of all periods have taken great delight in embellishing their poems by various means. Rhyme and alliteration were regular elements of poetry written in *tēḡahan* and *macapat* verse. Moreover a complicated kind of charades or enigmas based on assonance, was en vogue. A circumlocutory expression, an enigma, referred to a single word, often the name of a flower, a tree or a kind of fruit, and this word, by assonance or synonymity, suggested another word, which was the solution.

In Javanese the name of the whole charade is *wanṣalan*, a word which suggests turning round about. Perhaps the origin of this kind of playing with words is old. In the well-known Malay *pantuns* and in the related East Javanese *parikans* it is very much in evidence. So it is in popular poetry. In many poems belonging to the courtly, mannered genre, written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, *wanṣalans* are numerous. Some charades may have been known already in the pre-Islamic period (see 00060).

Nineteenth century Court poets, especially epigones of the classical renaissance, took pleasure in inventing great numbers of intricate *wanṣalans*, using them currently in poems, which so became incomprehensible for outsiders unacquainted with the solutions. Finding solutions without having a clue is almost impossible. Dutch scholars of the time, intrigued by the *wanṣalan* poetry, made collections provided with the solutions. Uhlenbeck ("The Languages of Java and "Madura", 1964, p. 56) has registered several collections of *wanṣalans* and riddles published by Dutch scholars of the second half of the nineteenth century.

Wanṣalans were often used to make erotic allusions. In Javanese literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and probably even before, lyric and erotic poetry almost invariably was couched in the *wanṣalan* form. In the romantic poems of the time, belonging to the Pañji cycle (30.870 ff.) and in the theatrical literature (31.210 ff.), occasionally lyrical stanzas filled with *wanṣalans* are inserted. A distinction should be made in Javanese literature between lyric and erotic poetry on the one hand, and erotic passages, often verging on the pornographic, on the other.

Erotic passages of the latter kind are found in several books of high literary value. In the vagrant students' romances, *Cabolaṅ*, *Ceṅṭini* etc. (see 30.780 ff.), eroticism is a standing feature. As a rule, however, independent lyric and erotic poetry does not appear in Court literature of the Islamic period. An exception was made for the *Pasiṅḍen Beḍaya*, songs belonging to female dancers performing at the Surakarta Court, and related poetry (see 31.160 ff.). Generally speaking, lyric and erotic poetry was considered as belonging to the popular and feminine sphere of literature, associated with the performances of public dancing girls. A few collections of

this kind of literature have been registered under the present head.

It is a remarkable fact that in pre-Islamic Javanese-Balinese literature lyric erotic poems are well-known (see 30.170).

Relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *waṅsalan* and *erotics*.

31.381 Lists of *waṅsalans* in verse:

cod. 5778, 6384, 8982 no 4 (Marga Wirya, Yogyakarta).

31.382 *Waṅsalans* from Madura:

cod. 4902.

31.383 Notes on popular poetry, *waṅsalans*, *parikans* from Surabaya:

cod. 10.561 (= BCB prtf 46).

31.400 Fables and Folk-tales.

Animal fables in a literary form were already well-known in pre-Islamic Javanese literature. The Old Javanese *Kamandaka* book (13.120) and the *Tantri* fables (30.290 and 30.300) are descendants of the Indian *Pañca Tantra* cycle.

But then, also indigenous animal tales, having the chevrotin (Javanese: *kañcil*, Dutch: *dwerghert*) for hero, have probably been current in Java since olden times. In Malay and other related literatures comparable animal stories are known. In Malay the chevrotin is called *pelanduk*. The stories attracted the attention of Dutch scholars interested in popular literature. Brandes wrote some Dutch papers on "Dwerghertverhalen" (TBG vol. 37, 43, 46; 1894, 1901, 1903).

For a long time Javanese *kañcil* tales were only transmitted orally, being considered stories for children. In the beginning of the

nineteenth century some authors made books containing versified *kañcil* tales. In Yogyakarta tales of that kind were more appreciated than in Surakarta. At the Pakualaman Court in Yogyakarta a kind of *kañcil* epos, *Saloka Darma*, was written (discussed by Brandes, TBG vol. 46, 1903). Several *kañcil* stories were translated into Dutch as specimens of popular literature, and *kañcil* tales, versified or in prose, were published by local printers in Java.

31.401 *Kañcil* stories in verse:

cod. 1818, 4248, 6409 (Yogyakarta).

31.402 *Saloka Darma*, Yogyakarta *kañcil* tales in verse:

cod. 6514.

31.403 *Kañcil* stories in prose:

cod. 6556.

31.420 Folk-tales, *Donḡḡs*. Like the

Kañcil stories mentioned under the preceding head, folk-tales, in Javanese called *donèns*, for a very long time were only orally transmitted. Probably many folk-tales contain elements of ancient myths referring to the origin of cosmic and social order.

The interrelationship of folk-tales and wayaṅ plays has been mentioned before (see 31.080). A considerable number of folk-tales was never written down in a literary form before the middle of the nineteenth century, the time of the growing interest of Dutch scholars in Javanese folklore. Just as in the case of the local legends (see 48.500), the first collections of *donèns* were made by Javanese writers who were prompted to do so by Dutch teachers and missionaries.

In the first decades of the twentieth century collections of Javanese *donèns*, folk-tales mixed with local legends, were published by local printers in Java in order to meet the demand for easy reading-matter in prose, especially for the schools (see 46.750).

Between 1930 and 1942 Mr Moens invited some ḍalaṅs of Yogyakarta to write down

a considerable number of folk-tales current in the remote Gunuṅ Kidul districts. For folklorists this collection is very interesting. Similar collections made by Mr Moens referring to popular wayaṅ plays and popular customs have been registered under other heads (31.103—31.107).

31.421 *Donèns*, folk-tales in prose, collections:

cod. 6436 (121 tales, collection Brandes), 6510 (5 tales, collection Kiliaan), 10.821 (collection Kraemer).

31.422 *Donèṅ Rěmbulan tuwin Lintaṅ-lintaṅ*, folk-tales:

cod. 8984.

31.423 *Donèṅ Kina*, humoristic, erotic folk-tales:

cod. 8985 no 2.

31.424 *Donèṅ cariyosipun tiyaṅ sěpuh*, anecdote of Maṅku Nagara IV, Surakarta:
cod. 6497.

31.425 Popular stories and folktales from Gunuṅ Kidul, collections Moens:

cod. 10.943—10.964, *cod.* 10.965—10.966.

31.440 Novellistic Literature.

In the second half of the nineteenth century more and more Javanese authors followed the advice of Dutch scholars to write belletristic novellistic books not exclusively based on wayaṅ tales. Surya Wijaya was one of the first. Of Surakarta origin, he lived for years in Batavia as a secretary in the employment of the Dutch orientalist Dr Cohen Stuart (died 1876). Most of his tales are written in verse in the style of wayaṅ

romances. In a later period of his career he was persuaded to write occasionally in prose. The Surya Ḥalam and Sěca Wardaya tales by Surya Wijaya seem to be connected with Javanese law (see 47.440). Part of the contents turns upon lawsuits.

Equally on the suggestion of Dutch scholars and officials were written the remarkable travels of Soma Rěja and the autobiography of Suradipura. They have been registered

in Part Two of the present Synopsis, under the head biographies (28.830 and 28.840). Like Surya Wijaya, Suradipura lived for years in Batavia, where he was eventually employed by Dr Hazeu. Sasra Kusuma wrote also an interesting autobiography (28.820).

Padma Susastra (Wira Pustaka) wrote many didactic books in prose in a modernized style. His name is mentioned in Part Four of the present Synopsis (45.360 and 45.530) as the author of a Javanese dictionary and an encyclopedia. The “Pratélan kawontĕnan “iṅ Buku-buku Museum” (KBG, Batavia/Djakarta) by Purwa Suwigña and Wira Waṅsa (two vols, 1920) and the “Catalogus “der Bibliotheek van het Koninklijk Instituut “voor de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde”, five vols, by Rouffaer, Muller, Stapel and Voorhoeve (The Hague/Leiden, since 1908), contain valuable bibliographic information on printed Javanese books, i.a. books written by the above-mentioned authors.

31.441 Surya Nalam, didactic romantic tale in verse, by Surya Wijaya:

cod. 5542, 6203 a no 22.

31.442 Sĕca Wardaya, moralistic tales in verse, by Surya Wijaya:

cod. 5546.

31.443 Travels of Surya Wijaya, in verse: *cod.* 3168.

31.444 Raṅḍa Guna Wĕcana, novel in prose by Surya Wijaya:

cod. 5544 b.

31.460 Modern Novels. In the first decades of the twentieth century the modern novellistic genre developed. Javanese authors were encouraged by Dutch scholars to try their hands at writing prose tales and essays. Educational officers considered an evolution

of literature in this modern European sense indispensable as a means to guide Javanese society on the way to progress. The Government Bureau for popular literature (“Volks-“lektuur”), which began its activities in the period of world-war I, was instrumental in modernizing the supply of books available to Javanese, Malay and Sundanese readers. It is remarkable that for a considerable time Malay and Sundanese modern novels and essays reached a higher standard than the work of Javanese authors. This inferiority in modernization has been ascribed to the long tradition of Javanese religious, historical and wayaṅ literature. Apparently Javanese authors for a long time were unable to leave the trodden path of their predecessors in the age-old literary tradition.

Under the present head are collected manuscripts mostly containing texts which were submitted to “Volkslektuur” for publication but rejected for some reason or another. The Javanese books which were published by Volkslektuur during the period of its activity between world-war I and II, and several older books published since 1900, can be found in booklists of “Volkslektuur” and in the “Pratélan kawontĕnaniṅ Buku-buku Museum” (see 31.440).

31.461 Jantra Entra,, novel by Pujaharja: *cod.* 6754.

31.462 Cariyos warni-warni, short stories by Atmadirja: *cod.* 8983 no 1.

31.463 Sukma Murca, romantic erotic story by Darta Sayana: *cod.* 8983 no 2.

31.464 Cariyos Laṅka, ghost story by Suwarna Rĕna Utama: *cod.* 8985 no 1.

31.465—31.468

NOVELLISTIC LITERATURE

- 31.465** Tonil Jawa, play on polygamy by Subrata:
cod. 8985 no 3.
- 31.466** Pirṇadi, story of a lucky man by Sasra Sutiksna:
cod. 8985 no 4.
- 31.467** Stories about shrewd thieves:
cod. 8985 no 5 a, b.
- 31.468** Pornographic poem:
cod. 8985 no 6.
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SYNOPSIS, PART FOUR *

SCIENCE, ARTS, HUMANITIES, LAW; FOLKLORE, CUSTOMS AND MISCELLANEA

40.000 Medical Literature.

The difficulty of dating Javanese texts belonging to this category is even more apparent than in other cases. It seems probable, however, that notes on medicines and magic, to be applied in case of illness, were written down in an early period of the history of Javanese letters. No doubt they were private notes of experts. The lore of concocting medicines was kept secret as long as possible, being orally transmitted only to trusted pupils. Perhaps a considerable part of the knowledge of medicinal herbs and other substances originally was the property of women. The ancient lore was collected afterwards by male practitioners. It is a noticeable fact that in Javanese prescriptions the simples sometimes are called by special names, different from the names of the herbs in daily life. No doubt this is a result of the desire to keep the knowledge of medicines secret, coupled with a fear of impairment of the

herbs' efficiency if called by their common names.

Gradually in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries native medicines for serious diseases, for instance small-pox, fell into discredit in consequence of the advance of modern European medical science. Many medicines for less serious diseases, household remedies for various kinds of illnesses, especially for children, continued to be used in most Javanese families, however.

Texts on medicines are collections of notes in prose, mostly compiled unsystematically. Evidently most manuscripts are the work of compilers who enriched older collections with additional notes of their own. As a consequence many manuscripts contain a mixture of notes on medicines, magic, physiognomy, erotics and divination. In the present book they are simply classified as books of notes.

In Old Javanese literature collections of notes on medicines were called *Usada* (from Skrt. *auśadha*). This name has been preserved in Bali. It is impossible to ascertain which part of Javanese-Balinese *Usada* books is of Old Javanese origin and which part constitutes an addition of later centuries. The idiom of *Usada* books written in Bali often

* In the present Part Four as a rule no distinction has been made between texts belonging to the four Eras of Javanese cultural history (see 00020), because in most genres and disciplines which are discussed the continuity from the Old Javanese period up to modern times is almost unbroken. An exception has been made only in the case of juridical literature (47.000—48.440).

is as much Javanese as Balinese; the Balinese name Wisada is a substitute of Usada.

In Bali, texts on medicines in some way connected with religious speculation were often called Anda, probably related with Javanese *aṇḍa*, *aṇḍaran*. Kalimosada (containing Skrt. *mahaṣadha*) is another name of texts on medicines in Bali. In Javanese literature it is also the name of a weapon and palladium of the Paṇḍawas, and in some speculative Islamic texts the name is interpreted as referring to the Muslim Creed: *kalima šahāda*.

Javanese manuscripts exclusively containing notes on medicines and magic connected with it, written in the Islamic period, are scarce. In this period there is no specific name for medicine books. Beside paragraphs on other matters, many books of notes (*primbons*) contain more or less extensive chapters on medicines and magic. In the present Synopsis such books are registered in the paragraphs dealing with their principal subject-matter, mostly mysticism, prayers and charms. Manuscripts containing references to medicines have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *medicine*, *usada* and *anda*.

Dr Wolfgang Weck, "Heilkunde und "Volkstum auf Bali" (Enke, Stuttgart, 1937), often refers to Balinese books on medicine. Modern Javanese medical prescriptions, without magic, were published occasionally by local printers in Java. Mrs. J. Kloppenburg-Versteegh's "Indische planten en haar geneeskracht" (many editions) contains much useful information based on indigenous Javanese pharmacology. So does K. Heyne, "De "Nuttige Planten van Nederlandsch-Indië", three volumes, 2nd ed., Batavia 1926.

The (supposedly) Old Javanese, Javanese-Balinese and Javanese books on medicine have been classified, for the sake of convenience, in the following groups:

40.010 Usada books, Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese, collections of prescriptions without (much) intermixture of magic:

cod. 5057, 9142 (Krt 97: Usada Tuwa), 9244 (Krt 290: Usada Tuwa), 10.786.

40.020 Usada books, Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese, collections of prescriptions usually with some intermixture of magic (*rajahs*), referring to children's diseases; cf. *Aṇḍa niṣ Usada Raré*, 40.130, *Kali Mahusada Kuranta Bolor*, 40.140, 40.170:

cod. 9348 (Krt 530, Usada Raré), 9388 (Krt 641, Usada Sawan, children's convulsions), 9572 (Krt 1015, Usada Raré), 9573 (Krt 1017, Usada Raré), 9774 (Krt 1422, Usada Raré), 9803 (Krt 1469, *Pratiṅkah iṣ aṇḍemit Usada Raré*), 10.187 (Krt 2222, Usada Raré), 10.197 (Krt 2239, Usada Raré), 10.794.

40.030 Usada books, Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese, collections of prescriptions usually with some intermixture of magic (*rajahs*, *mantras*), referring to specific disease, such as smallpox; cf. *Aṇḍa*, 40.120, *Magic (special)*, 40.340:

cod. 2057 (*Paṇḍélin Wisada Kacacar*, smallpox), 9136 (Krt 91, *Paméda Smara*, sexual organs), 9287 (Krt 396, *Pratékaninṣ Gëriṣ Aguṣ*, leprosy), 9301 (Krt 441, *Panḍḍëran Kuṣṭa*, leprosy), 9385 (Krt 637, Usada Mala, goitre), 9386 (Krt 639, Usada Buduh, insanity), 9387 (Krt 640, Usada niṣ Upas, poisoning), 9405 (Krt 683, Usada Cuwil, skin-diseases, leprosy), 9763 (Krt 1400, *Tatḍḍḍëṣ Upas*), 9856 (Krt 1584, Usada Rastuṅ, festering sores).

40.040 Usada books, Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese, collections of prescriptions with a considerable intermixture of magic (rajahs, mantras) and incantations, referring to various diseases; cf. 40.140, Kalimosada:

cod. 1879, 3653, 4611 (= 10.612), 4612 (= 10.613), 4613 (= 10.614), 4614, 4615, 4616, 4617, 4619, 4622, 5074, 5075, 5324, 5375, 9139 (Krt 94, Wiṣṇu Japa), 9687 (Krt 1208, Usada Babugbugan), 10.790.

40.050 Usada books, Javanese-Balinese collections of prescriptions with a considerable intermixture of magic (rajahs, mantras) and Muslim influence, referring to various diseases; cf. 40.180:

cod. 3942 (= 10.607 = BCB prtf no 69), 5161 (Notes), 5435 d-IV/V (Notes).

40.060 Usada book, Javanese-Balinese collection of prescriptions with a considerable intermixture of magic (rajahs, mantras), Muslim influence, and notes on divination:

cod. 3943.

40.070 Usada books, Javanese-Balinese collections of prescriptions with a considerable intermixture of magic (rajahs, mantras), incantations and exorcism of evil spirits:

cod. 4618, 5074 (Usada Sari, Lombok), 9173 (Krt 158, Usada Putih), 9180 (Krt 170, Usada Tuju) 9320 (Krt 479, Usada Sari), 9750 (Krt 1365, Usada Čēměj), 9752 (Krt 1369, Usada Siwa Sampurna), 9760 (Krt 1395, Usada Babayi), 9761 (Krt 1396, Gagėłaran Usada), 9817 (Krt 1495, Darma Usada Čēměj).

40.080 Usada book, Javanese-Balinese collection of prescriptions with a considerable intermixture of magic (rajahs, mantras) and religious speculation on the origin of diseases; cf. Aṇḍa Buwana, 40.120:

cod. 9234 (Krt 270); Usada Catur Kahuri-

pan = CB 112).

40.090 Usada books, Javanese-Balinese collections of notes on symptoms of diseases, and medicines, physiology, physicians' lore, cf. 40.160:

cod. 9326 (Krt 492, Balyan Panasar), 9433 (Krt 736, Usada Tětėřěj), 9596 (Krt 1049, Pratiti niṛ anaṛjun usada), 9751 (Krt 1368, Aji Paṛawasan), 9823 (Krt 1512, Kasuksman Balyan), 9846 (Krt 1568, Tėlik Jati), 10.185 (Krt 2220, Darma Usada), 10.186 (Krt 2221, Usada Baṛ).

40.100 Usada books, Javanese-Balinese collections of notes and medicines with reference to pregnancy and childbirth, with an intermixture of magic (rajahs, mantras) and incantations:

cod. 9436 (Krt 741, Usada Manak), 9719 (Krt 1299, Usada Manak), 9771 (Krt 1411, Buddha Prayoga), 10.558 (= BCB prtf 43B, Paṅgėtak Raré).

40.110 Usada Sato, Javanese-Balinese notes on animals' (cattle) diseases and medicines; cf. Katurangan, 41.000.

cod. 10.797.

40.120 Aṇḍa, Javanese-Balinese notes on medicines, especially against smallpox, with an intermixture of magic (rajahs, mantras) and incantations:

cod. 3936 (Islam influence, with Kaṇḍa-'mpat), 4047 (= 10.404 = BCB prtf 3), 4048, 4049 (= 10.405 = BCB prtf 3), 9075 (Krt 2, Aṇḍa Kacacar), 9195 (Krt 192c, Aṇḍa Buwana), 9268 (Krt 737, Aṇḍa Buwana), 9866 (Krt 1601, Aṇḍa Kacacar), 10.205 (Krt 2253, Aṇḍa Kacacar).

40.130 Aṇḍa niṛ Usada Raré, Javanese-Balinese notes on children's medicines; cf. Usada Raré, 40.020:

cod. 6341, 9296 (Krt 418).

40.140 Kali Mahusada, Kalimosada, Javanese-Balinese notes on magic and incantations with reference to medicines; cf. Kalimosada tutur, 11.390:

cod. 9590 (Krt 1041), 9689 (Krt 1214), 9720 (Krt 1300, Kali Mahusada Putus), 9796 (Krt 1449, Kalimosada Kalimosadi), 10.175 (Krt 2206, Kali Mahusada Kuranta Boloṅ, children's diseases), 10.179 (Krt 2212), 10.787 (Klima Usada).

40.150 Buda Kacapi, Javanese-Balinese notes on medicines and magic, lessons given to saṅ Kalimosada and saṅ Kalimosadi, physicians' lore:

cod. 9118 (Krt 68), 9245 (Krt 294, Buda Kacapi Cēmṅ), 9691 (Krt 1219, Kaṇḍa niṅ Buda Kacapi), 9799 (Krt 1458, Buda Kacapi Cēmṅ).

40.160 Punguṅ Tiwas, Javanese-Balinese notes on magic and medicines, physicians' lore, exorcism, cf. 40.090:

cod. 10.211 (Krt 2260).

40.170 Paṅraksa Buwana, Javanese-Balinese notes on medicines for children, with an intermixture of magic, cf. 40.020:

cod. 9147 (Krt 105).

40.180 Notes on medicines, prescriptions and recipes, Javanese-Balinese, with an intermixture of magic, cf. 40.050:

cod. 5176 (= 10.602 = BCB prtf 69), 5328, 9850 (Krt 1573, Kamoksan, rhinoceros horn), 10.009 (Krt 1886, balatuk, platuk bawar, woodpecker medicine), 10.256 (Krt 2332, Prayoga untu niṅ warak, on rhinoceros horn).

40.190 Notes, prescriptions, recipes, modern Javanese:

cod. 6406 (Yogyakarta, with magic etc.), 6794 (collected by Atma Supana of Surakarta, 1855).

40.200 Notes, Javanese, on medicines, divination and religious speculation, from Purwakërta, Bañumas:

cod. KITLV Or 253.

40.250 Magic, Physiognomy and Related Subjects.

In the present Synopsis the appellative magic is exclusively used for the lore of how to obtain wished for results by means of methods which in modern times sometimes have been called pre-scientific. Magic and medicines are closely related: in the preceding paragraphs (40.000 ff.) many manuscripts containing prescriptions mixed with magic formulas and magic figures (*rajahs*) have been mentioned.

Magic also shows interrelationship with divination, the knowledge of auspicious and inauspicious times and circumstances, suited or unsuited for certain actions. The success

of many magic practices is believed partly to depend on the observation of rules referring to suitable or unsuitable times of action. In the following paragraphs (41.750 ff.) many codexes containing miscellaneous notes on divination, magic and medicines will be discussed.

Being closely related with medicines and divination, two branches of science or so-called pre-scientific knowledge, magic also shows affinity with physiognomy, the lore of the interrelationship between external marks, physical shape and psychic qualities, character. Physiognomy of women is con-

nected with the lore of erotics, and with medicines, magic and divination referring to female beauty and sexual intercourse. Manuscripts containing notes on female physiognomy, love, magic and erotics will be registered under special heads (40.500 and 40.750).

In Java physiognomy is also applied to animals. Javanese hippology mostly deals with marks in the horse's coat, as indications of its character. At the same time such marks can indicate the suitability or unsuitability of the horse as a mount for a person belonging to a certain social group. Owning and riding a horse possessing certain marks can have serious consequences for the proprietor's health and fortune. This kind of magic and divinatory hippology is called in Javanese: *katurangan* (turangga: horse). *Katurangan* manuscripts will be listed under a special head (41.000). Several codexes contain horse medicines (v. 40.100, Usada Sato).

In the same manner as horse, also other Javanese pets are made the object of physiognomic speculations. Their owners' and masters' fortunes are believed to be influenced by the qualities of the animals, which can be known by experts in these matters by observing the presence or absence of certain marks. Keeping and cherishing pets possessing certain auspicious marks in their coats or feathers is believed to be a magic means to better one's fortune. The pets that are most important in this respect are cocks. As for a long time cockfights, accompanied by gambling, were an integral part of Javanese social life, knowledge of auspicious and inauspicious marks of cocks was very much appreciated, and the possession of "good" cocks was a mark of distinction. Texts on

cocks and their marks will be listed under a special head (41.100).

Turtle-doves (Javanese: *pěrkutut*, Balinese *titiran*, *kitiran*) are cherished for their voices. They are kept in cages, suspended from the roof-edges above the porches of Javanese houses. In some districts, especially in East Java, cages with doves are, during daytime, hoisted up on top of long bamboo poles which are set up in the yards, rising high above the roofs of the houses. Turtledoves' marks are not less studied than those of cocks, and the same belief in "magic" influence on the fortunes of the proprietors is prevalent. Manuscripts dealing with turtle-doves are mentioned in 41.250.

Probably the keeping of cats as pets has been influenced by Islam. The Prophet is said to have been a lover of cats. Marks of cats, especially curls or knobs in their tails (a peculiarity of Javanese cats), are believed to have "magic" influence on their masters' fortune. In rain-magic and in magic medicines cats are believed to be useful too. In the paragraphs beginning with 41.500 texts dealing with cats are registered.

Creeses (in the present book called crisses), lances and other weapons made of steel occupy a prominent place in Javanese folklore. Especially the shapes of crisses and the *pamor* figures (of light coloured steel welded with the main blade) are the subject-matter of several treatises, mostly provided with illustrations. Knowledge of the various kinds of iron used for making the weapons is also deemed very important. Belief in "magic" influences exercised by crisses and lances is strong. Under a special head, beginning with 41.600, manuscripts dealing with the armourer's lore have been listed. In the General

Index many references to historical texts, also to genealogies of armourers' families, can be found under the catchwords *ẽmpu* and *smithery*.

The various instances of magic practices and belief in magic influence, mentioned above, should make clear why in the present Synopsis magic is classed with science (or pre-science). Between pre-scientific magic practices, used to reach desired ends in the profane sphere, on the one hand, and religious methods which can lead to the fulfilment of human needs and relief in the troubles of earthly existence on the other hand, a strict line must be drawn. Prayers and incantations addressed to the supreme Being(s), in combination with offerings and ritual, belong to the sphere of religion. Exorcist rites, believed to be efficient in purifying places or persons defiled by evil influences, are also important in Javanese religious practice. The interrelationship of ritual and myth (i.e. the genesis of cosmic and social Order) is clearly apparent in Javanese exorcist rites and tales, which lie at the root of the national wayang theatre.

It is admittedly a difficult task to draw a line between profane magic practices on the one side and sacral incantations and exorcisms on the other (see G. J. Held, "Magie, Hekserij en Toverij", 1950). Since Islam became the official religion of Java, people became reluctant to associate exorcisms and purification rites (Javanese: *ruwat*, *lukat*), with religious belief. The reason why the Javanese *ruwat* wayang plays of the Islamic period have been registered in Part Three, Belles-Lettres, of the present Synopsis, has been explained in 31.190. All pre-Islamic incantations and exorcist rites, how-

ever, have been classed with the religious texts in Part One (see 12.000 ff., 12.400 ff., and 15.500 ff.), on account of their religious origin.

In 49.200 the distinction between magic on the one hand and folklore and superstition on the other is discussed. It is a fact that several manuscripts which are registered under the heads medicine and magic may contain interesting information for students of folklore.

In Javanese literature there is no definite group of books bearing a common specific name (like Usada), containing information on magic practices and magic texts. Information of this kind is found scattered in many books of notes, mostly mixed with notes on other matters, especially incantations, prayers and mysticism, to say nothing of the books on medicines, divination and specific kinds of magic (*katu-rangan* etc.), connected with physiognomy, which are mentioned under special heads (40.010 and 40.500/41.600). The General Index (sub voce *magic*) has many references to manuscripts containing texts on magic or connected with magic. In common Dutch-Indian parlance magic is called "goena-goena" (*guna-guna*) and "stille kracht" (silent power). In some Dutch-Indian novels it plays an important role. As the term *guna-guna* would not be generally understood it is not used in the present book.

It seems probable that magic practices and belief in the existence of magic influences belong to an early period of Javanese cultural history. Some magic practices make use of material expedients, e.g. leaves with a magic figure or marks drawn or scratched on them. The origin of figures or marks of

this kind (Javanese: *rajah*; see General Index) may lie in a very remote past. Similarity with magic figures of the same kind belonging to the civilizations of other peoples is noticeable, but it would be too hazardous to draw conclusions from this fact.

In daily life belief in magic influences and magic lore manifests itself by the use of portable charms or amulets, mostly consisting of magic figures (*rajahs*) or cryptic letters (Old Javanese: *kūṭa*) written on a piece of palmleaf or paper, sometimes engraved on a ring. In Bali and in Javanese-Balinese texts, charms and related aids to overcome difficulties in life are called *paripih*, *pripih*. Some magic practices in Bali are connected with rites, and special offerings (*sasayut*) are set in the expectation that they will counter-balance evil influences. In Muslim Java *jimat* (corrupted Arabic *‘azīma*) is the common name of charms of all kinds. Offerings connected with magic (or non-Islamic belief) are called *tumbal*. In modern Javanese *sajèn* is the generic name of all kinds of offerings prescribed by custom. The General Index sub voce *charms* has many references to manuscripts containing notes on this subject.

Whereas possibly some magic figures and marks are very old, in many cases the texts describing magic and the results to be obtained by practising it were written down much later. It seems probable that for a long time the essence of magic practices was kept secret by the performers, sorcerers and medicine-men, and only transmitted orally to trusted adepts. In many manuscripts, notes on magic practices begin and end with admonitions of secrecy.

Therefore the age of texts on magic is

difficult to ascertain. In Javanese manuscripts from Bali, which may contain Old Javanese, pre-Islamic lore, notes on magic are more frequently found than in Javanese books of notes belonging to the Muslim period. Still, in Islamic Javanese books (often called *primbons*), magic practices and magic figures (*rajahs*) are well-known features. Islamic Javanese magic makes use of elements of Muslim religious worship, parts of Arabic prayers and Kur’ān verses, in the same way as some (presumably pre-Islamic) Javanese-Balinese magic practices and charms are associated with incantations and ritual belonging to Hinduistic Javanese religious worship. By paying attention to associations either with the Hinduistic pantheon or with Islam, as a rule notes on magic can be classified in two groups, in the present Synopsis for convenience’ sake called pre-Islamic and Muslim.

Javanese texts on pure magic have seldom been published in Java. Probably some scruples and the feeling of the necessity of secrecy still worked. Some information on Javanese magic is to be found in Dutch books and treatises, especially van Hien’s “De “Javaanse Geestenwereld” (several editions). Black magic and divination as practised by thieves have been studied by police-officers as an expedient to find clues where to look for the offender (on the presumption that the thief arranged his burglary according to the prescriptions of the black magic lore). 40.260 Notes on incantations, magic mantras, divination, pre-Islamic, written in archaic Javanese so-called *gunuṅ-* or *buda-* or rustic script:

cod. 1882, 4989, AdKIT A 4849/a (rustic Javanese), AdKIT 1221/2 (rustic).

40.270 Notes, Javanese-Balinese, on magic, medicines and divination, with some drawings of rajahs:

cod. 3035, 3624 (= 10.434 = BCB prtf 5), 3679, 4620, 5198, 5208, 5213, 5225, 5263, 5276, 5287, 5288, 5293, 5399, 5403, 5435d V, 5435e, 9140 (Krt 95, Aji Lëwih), 9158 (Krt 131, Kaputusan kadyatmikan), 9200 (Krt 200, Aji Krèkèt), 9250 (Krt 304, Nawa Kaṇḍa), 9781 (Krt 1430, Sara Samuscaya Kawruhan), 9805 (Krt 1472, Kaputusan Paṅwisésan, with Paṅlësu, to stop the activity of the magic), 10.560 (= BCB prtf 43B, Kaputusan I Mémé), REM 2410-17 (black magic, Bali), REM br. 79-M4, Dft S 240/280-2, CB 18, CB 21, CB 105.

40.280 Notes, Javanese-Balinese, on charms (paripih) and rajahs:

cod. 3035, 5212, 5415, 9497 (Krt 870, Tatulak), RtMLV 27.171, RtMLV 27.326.

40.290 Notes, Javanese-Balinese, on magic, incantations and medicines, with some Muslim influence (èr jamjam):

cod. 5190, 5202, 5257 (shooting, hunting), 5425, 9514 (Krt 902, Pamalik Sumpah).

40.300 Notes on Islamic Javanese magic, charms and rajahs, mixed with divination:

cod. 5605, 6591, 7423a, 7426, 7452, 7496, 7502, 7751, 7752, 7754, 7757, 7758, 7763, 7770, 7771, NBS 117 (= NBS 76 IV), NBS 344 (West Java), Dft S 240/280-37, KITLV Or 30 (black magic, thieves), AdKITR H 2178 (Arabic script).

40.310 Special white magic, Javanese-Balinese, Pamugpug, counteracting curses:

cod. 9603 (Krt 1058), 9787 (Krt 1439).

40.320 Special white magic, Javanese-Balinese, Pamarisudan woṅ ala carané, with

sasayut offerings, to reform bad characters:

cod. 10.010 (Krt 1888).

40.330 Special white magic, Javanese-Balinese, Pamutëran, causing fugitives and criminals to return to their starting-point (with the stolen goods):

cod. 9973 (Krt 1791).

40.340 Special white magic, Javanese-Balinese, Panawar, remedy against poison, snake-bites etc.; cf. Usada (specific), 40.030:

cod. 9267 (Krt 336, Kaputusan bagawan Kaśyapa), 9346 (Krt 526), 9759 (Krt 1392), 9872 (Krt 1608).

40.350 Special magic, Javanese-Balinese, Panëraṅan, bringing fair weather, no rain, with a view to planned celebrations or festivals, and bringing relief in difficult circumstances; cf. 40.380, rain magic:

cod. 9854 (Krt 1582), 9860 (Krt 1593, Pañaraṅ), 9876 (Krt 1612).

40.360 White and black magic, Javanese-Balinese (Panëṅṅen, right, Paṅiwa, left), connected with the belief in léyaks, evil, impure spirits:

cod. 9141 (Krt 96), 9224 (Krt 254, Kluwuṅ Gëni, Kluwuṅ Toya), 9351 (Krt 537), 9742 (Krt 1355), 9824 (Krt 1514, Aji Lakën, fire and water magic), 10.795.

40.370 Special magic, Javanese-Balinese, to be used against evil spirits (dèṣṭi), related with incantations and exorcism:

cod. 5085 (Cadu śakti or Dërṣṭi Wiṣa = 10.444), 9432 (Krt 733, Panëṣṭyan), 9443 (Krt 751, Paṅulih-ulih Dèṣṭi, making the evil spirits turn against their own kin), 9703 (Krt 1251, Paṅraksa Jiwa), 9755 (Krt 1383, Paṅraṅsukan Kawisésan, supernatural powers entering into the human body), 9779 (Krt 1428, Tik Buwana), 9885 (Krt 1622, Cakrāgni), AdKIT 809/192.

40.380 Special magic, Javanese-Balinese, to bring rain (for agriculture), connected with incantations; cf. 40.350, fair weather magic: *cod.* 4400 (Paṛujanan), 9884 (Krt 1621, Paṛujanan).

40.390 Javanese-Balinese charms, *rajahs*: *cod.* 5147 (= 10.466 = BCB prtf 8), 5294 (Balinese illustrations), 5435d-IV, AdKIT 1646/35 (spirits, illustrations).

40.400 Javanese-Balinese notes on magic incantations, *Kawisésan*, referring to gods, demons and spirits; cf. 12.000 and 12.400: *cod.* 9201 (Krt 201), 9339 (Krt 511), 9778 (Krt 1427), 9812 (Krt 1489, Macaliṅ), 9814 (Krt 1491, Suta Soma), 9815 (Krt 1492), 9857 (Krt 1590), 10.215 (Krt 2264), 11.022 (Kaputusan Baṭara Siwa).

40.500 *Physiognomy* of human beings, the lore of the interrelationship between external marks, physical shape and psychic qualities, character, has, on the one hand, an affinity with divination and the explanation of prognostics (cf. 41.750). On the other hand, physiognomy of women is closely connected with eroticism and love-magic (cf. 40.750). The other kinds of physiognomy (in Javanese often called *katuranggan*, from *turaṅga*: horse) have been mentioned in the opening remarks on magic in general (41.000, horse; 41.100, cocks; 41.250, doves; 41.500, cats; 41.600, crisses).

In pre-Islamic and Javanese-Balinese literature, texts on human physiognomy in general are scarce. Notes on female physiognomy are mostly incorporated in books on eroticism (40.750).

In Javanese literature of the Muslim period, on the other hand, notes on human, and especially female, physiognomy, are of

frequent occurrence. In this period human physiognomy is called *pirasat* or *wirasat* (from Arabic *firāsa*). Though books exclusively dealing with *pirasat* are scarce, notes on this subject are found in many *primbons* and in encyclopedic works and compendiums.

It is a remarkable fact that chiromancy, which is a kind of physiognomy practised often in other countries, is seldom mentioned in Javanese books.

Javanese texts on female physiognomy have been published occasionally by local printers in Java. Van Hien's "De Javaanse "Geestenwereld" contains some Dutch information on the subject. Relevant manuscripts have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *physiognomy*.

40.510 Carcan Janma, Javanese-Balinese notes on human physiognomy, and prognostics as to character:

cod. 9524 (Krt 921).

40.520 Treatises on human and animal physiognomy, called *Katuranggan*, and on Javanese mysticism, in verse, Yogyakarta, Pakualaman (compendium):

cod. 6398.

40.530 *Katuranggan iṅ wonṅ wadon*, physiognomy of women, with references to character, in verse, coll. Poensen:

cod. 5783.

40.540 Iman Sapiṅji, didactic poem on *wirasat*, etc.:

cod. 11.018.

40.750 Texts on eroticism usually are connected with female physiognomy. Love-magic also is brought under this head, and so are magic practices, recipes and medicines for the preservation or enhancement of female beauty. Sexual intercourse and its

modalities, and divination regulating auspicious times for it, are several times mentioned in manuscripts registered under the present head.

Of course, in Javanese literature, poems and tales describing erotic situations are very much in evidence. As a matter of fact, descriptions of this kind are to be found in almost every important mythic, epic, historical and romantic Javanese text. Moreover smaller literary texts, in verse and in prose, exclusively dealing with some erotic situation, are not lacking. Some texts of the latter category could be called frankly pornographic. In the present Synopsis love-poems, erotic romances, erotic tales and the like have been classed in Part Three (Belles-Lettres). It seems probable that in many cases authors of such literary texts had a good knowledge of various “scientific” treatises on eroticism as registered under the present head.

In Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese literature some rather elaborate texts on eroticism, especially referring to sexual intercourse, are known. Relation with Sanskrit texts is probable. Moreover in Javanese-Balinese manuscripts notes on this subject are frequent. In the Islamic period *primbons* also rather frequently have notes on eroticism, some of them connected with Islamic Tradition (ʿAli and Pratimah, i.e. Fāṭima). Some modern Javanese texts, registered under the present head, connect eroticism with the indigenous kind of mystic Muslim speculations (Niti Mani).

Local Javanese printers published several booklets on eroticism and sexual intercourse. The Niti Mani text also was published in several editions. Manuscripts containing relevant texts or notes have been registered

in the General Index under the catchword *erotics*.

40.760 Smara Tantra, Javanese-Balinese treatises on procreation and eroticism, with magic and mantras:

cod. 5121, 5130, 5131, 5196, 5251 (= 10.610).

40.770 Smara Kriḍa Laksana, magic and medicines with reference to eroticism:

cod. 9419 (Krt 702), CB 110-II.

40.780 Aṅguli Prawéśa, Anaṅga Sāstra, rēṣi Sambhinna, Rahasya Saṅgama, Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese treatises on eroticism and sexual intercourse, with Sanskrit ślokaś:

cod. 4055 (= 10.608), 4056, 4057, 4058, 5123, 9420 (Krt 703), 9425 (Krt 714), CB 67.

40.790 Notes on eroticism, Old-Javanese and Javanese-Balinese, mixed with magic and incantations:

cod. 5130, 5140, 5242, 5256, 5371.

40.800 Indrani, Anaṅga Upadéśa, Rukmini, Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese treatise on women’s lore, with ślokaś:

cod. 9429 (Krt 726), CB 110-III, 9430 (Krt 727).

40.810 Pawistrèn, Javanese-Balinese magic and love-charms:

cod. 5053 (Kawistrèn), 9321 (Krt 485).

40.820 Piwēlas, Javanese-Balinese love-magic and medicines:

cod. 9115 (Krt 59).

40.830 Paṅjurit, Javanese-Balinese notes on women’s magic to attract men:

cod. 10.017 (Krt 1911).

40.840 Kaputusan Aniruca Pati, Javanese-Balinese love-magic:

cod. 9995 (Krt 1858).

40.850 Niti Mani, revised by raden mas arya Suganda, modern Javanese prose treatise on procreation and eroticism mixed with mysticism:

cod. 6415, 6502, 8616.

40.860 Notes, rustic Javanese, on women's lore, eroticism, female Muslim nabis:

cod. 5610.

41.000 Physiognomy of horse, hippology, in Java called *katurangan*, was already known in Java in the pre-Islamic period. Its flourishing period, however, was later, namely in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a result of the increasing use of horse for purposes of war, pomp and circumstance.

Tournaments on horseback belonged to the favourite sports of Javanese nobility. They were called *sĕnĕnan* or *sĕton* after the days of the week (Monday or Saturday) on which they used to be held (at the Royal Courts or in the residences of the provincial gentry). The mounts, richly caparisoned, were trained to go at an amble and to move sideways with a curious crab-like gait. The gentlemen, wearing old-fashioned warlike apparel, held long lances with blunt points. They sat perched on high wooden saddles. By skilful manoeuvring of their horse in combination with feint attacks with their lances they tried to unsaddle their opponents. In the twentieth century tournaments went out of use as a consequence of the considerable costs and the changing views on sport. (see the present author's "Java in the XIVth Century", vol. IV, p. 519).

Javanese *katurangan* is especially interested in marks (in Javanese called *maṭi*) in the horse's coat, small curls of hair, which

are believed to be indications of the animal's qualities and character, according to the places on the body where they are found. The colour of the coat is also significant, of course. A horse with good marks, suited to the state and personality of the owner, can bring him luck and prosperity, and the reverse is also true, according to Javanese belief. Under the head Magic (40.250) the interrelationship of *katurangan*, divination and magic has been mentioned.

Horse were kept in Java not only for their practical use and their supposed magic influence on their masters' fortunes, but also for their own sake: they were pets. Some *katurangan* texts contain notes on horse medicines and means to promote the well-being of the cherished animals.

Some Javanese-Balinese manuscripts contain nothing but texts on *katurangan*, but mostly these texts are found together with others, on divination and magic, in books of notes or compendiums.

In the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century some modern Javanese *katurangan* texts were published by local printers in Java. The Javanese reading public apparently showed an interest in these books. Manuscripts containing relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *horse* and *katurangan*.

41.010 *Katurangan*, Javanese-Balinese, horse medicines:

cod. 2219.

41.020 Carcan Jaran, Carcan Kuda, Javanese-Balinese notes on divination with reference to horse:

cod. 4580, 5237 (Aśwa śikṣa), 9238 (Krt 276), 9469 (Krt 805), 9766 (Aswa Lakṣana, Krt 1405).

41.030 Notes, Javanese-Balinese, on horsemanship, with mantras (Paṇḍawas):

cod. 5171.

41.040 Katuranggan, modern Javanese, in verse, Surakarta:

cod. NBS 61.

41.050 Carcan Baṇṭèn, Javanese-Balinese notes on divination with reference to cattle:

cod. 9470 (Krt 806).

41.100 C o c k s. Of old, cockfights occupied an important place in social life. In modern times, in Java, they were discouraged and checked by Government, acting in accordance with Muslim religious leaders, on account of the gambling and ensuing disorders which often accompanied public displays of cockfighting. In mythology and legendary history, also in religious ritual, cocks are frequently mentioned. Under the present head are listed those Javanese texts which deal with the physiognomy of cocks in connection with their chances to win in fights, and their magic influence on their masters' fortunes. In the same way as in hippology, in texts on cocks, marks on the feathers, the head and the legs, and colours, are considered important indications of the bird's qualities and character. Under the head Magic (40.250) the interrelationship of the cock lore, divination and magic has been mentioned.

Some Javanese texts on cocks also contain notes on medicines, mostly in connection with the cockfights, which were a great tax on the strength of the birds.

Besides being used for fighting, cocks were also kept for their crowing. Special kinds were bred to this end. As a rule all pet cocks, but especially the valuable crowing ones, were kept in cages. Fighting cocks were

regularly massaged.

Whereas cockfights were a male sport, at Court in olden times the ladies sometimes amused themselves by having fights of quail hens (in Javanese called *gěmak*). Of this kind of bird the hens seem to be more combative than the cocks. Special texts on quails are not known.

Another kind of animals which was kept for fighting is the cricket (in Javanese called *jaṅkrik*). The insects were caught, kept in small boxes and fed lavishly. The fights took place in oblong boxes provided with movable partitions, in order to keep the opponents at a distance from each other till the signal to start was given. Cricket-fights are occasionally mentioned in Javanese texts. So are other animal fights.

Some Javanese-Balinese texts on cocks are listed under the present head. Modern Javanese texts on the subject are only found together with divination texts etc., in books of notes or compendiums. In the General Index, manuscripts containing information on the subject are registered under the catch-words *cocks*, *animal fights*; *rampog macan*, and *tiger*. Some modern Javanese texts on cocks have been published by local printers in Java.

41.110 Tatěmpuran, Javanese-Balinese notes on fighting cocks, marks and divination:

cod. 4555 (= 10.599 = BCB prtf 69), 5016, 5228, 9656 (Krt 1167), 9981 (Krt 1839).

41.120 Carcan Ayam, Javanese-Balinese notes on cocks (divination and medicines) and on crickets:

cod. 9311 (Krt 456), 9825 (Krt 1515).

41.250 D o v e s. Many kinds of birds are

mentioned in Javanese literature. Beside cocks, the most popular kind in Javanese life is the turtle-dove (in modern Javanese called *pěrkutut*, in Old Javanese and Balinese *titiran* or *kitiran*). These small birds were prized for their voices. In some districts competitions of turtle-doves used to be organized: the bird with the best voice won. In 40.250 the interrelationship between the turtle-dove lore, divination and magic has been mentioned.

Beside turtle-doves, another kind of domesticated dove, in Javanese called *dara*, is also kept in the yards of Javanese homes. It is a curious fact that this kind of dove is seldom mentioned in literature and almost never associated with magic and divination.

Limbs of the woodpecker (*platuk bawan*) are used as medicines (see 40.180).

Texts on the marks of turtle-doves and their meanings are in evidence in Old Javanese, Javanese-Balinese and modern Javanese literature. Moreover many books of notes contain notes on the subject, in combination with texts on divination. Manuscripts containing such notes are registered in the General Index under the catchwords *pěrkutut*, *kitiran*, *platuk bawan* and *woodpecker*. Some modern Javanese texts on *pěrkututs* have been published by local printers in Java.

41.260 Carcan ing pěksi prukutut, Javanese-Balinese treatises on turtle-dove divination:

cod. 3853 (also horse and jewels), 5164, 5239 (Laksana ning paksi kitiran), 5248, 9108 (Krt 51, Siksan Paksi), 10.031 (Krt 1928).

41.270 Carcan ing pěksi pěrkutut, Java-

nese-Balinese didactic poem on turtle-doves, in Indian metres (kakawin):

cod. 9422.

41.280 Pigeon breeding, Dutch translation of a Javanese treatise:

cod. 8974 no 3.

41.500 In Javanese mythology cats occupy a place of minor importance. Candra Mawa is the name of a cat which appears in rice-myths. In popular magic practices, especially in rain magic, cats are sometimes used. The remarkable knobs or curls in Javanese cats' tails, a congenital deformation, and the colours of their coats gave occasion to divinatory speculations on the animals' magic influence on their masters' fortunes. In 40.250 under the head Magic reference has been made to Islamic tradition.

Unlike cats, dogs frequently appear in Javanese mythology. In some wide-spread tales of mythic ancestors, sexual intercourse of a woman with a dog is the origin of a family or a group of people. In divination and magic practices dogs are seldom mentioned. Muslim aversion to dogs might be the explanation of the disregard of the animals in modern divination in Java. But Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese texts on dog divination, comparable with horse or turtle-dove divination, are also scarce.

Most texts on cats and dogs are found together with other texts in books of notes and compendiums (see the catchwords *cat* and *dog* in the General Index). A modern Javanese text on cat divination has been published by a local printer in Java.

41.510 Carcan Kuciņ, Javanese-Balinese notes on cats' marks:

cod. 9471 (Krt 807).

41.520 Carcan Asu, Javanese-Balinese notes on dogs' marks, especially for hunting:

cod. 9262 (Krt 392).

41.600 Sharp weapons, especially crisses (poniards, often with undulated blades), lances (often halberds with fantastic shapes) and, to a lesser extent, swords always were of interest to Javanese gentlemen. Crisses (English-Dutch spelling of the Javanese *kéris*, commonly called *creese*) occupy important places in Javanese mythology and legendary history, and in former times many Javanese families of consequence kept some sharp weapons as heirlooms (*pusaka*). *Pusaka* crisses, lances etc. were given individual names with the title *kyahi*, and they were regularly cleansed and "fed" with incense. The religious care of the weapons amounted to a fetish cult.

In 40.250 the interrelationship of the Javanese armourers' lore and magic has been mentioned. Crisses also had a connection with divination: the blades were measured with the breadth of their owner's handpalms. The number of times it went was considered an indication of the criss's good or bad influence on the owner's fortunes.

Crisses and lances are divided into many groups according to their shapes, which have names, known to the connoisseurs. Apart from the veneration for the weapons as heirlooms and fetishes, they were also prized as works of art. Collections of valuable crisses belonged to the cherished possessions of princes and noblemen. Beautifully worked crisses were given as presents of honour by Royalty.

Beside the blades of the crisses, the hilts and the sheaths also were made into exquisite

works of art by special artisans. In East Java, Madura and Bali wooden and ivory hilts were elaborately decorated with carvings, often representing human heads or figures belonging to epical history (wayan heroes). In Central Java, as a rule, the decoration of criss-hilts was simpler. Neither hilts nor sheaths were venerated to the same degree as the criss-blades.

In pre-Islamic Javanese literature crisses are already mentioned. In the beginning of the Muslim era, in the flourishing period of the Pasisir (North Coast) culture, in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, tales of miraculous weapons and of great armourers seem to be on the increase. There is reason to suppose that increasing international traffic along the coasts of South-East Asia somehow was instrumental in the flourishing of the armourers' art in Java, perhaps by bringing a large supply of good steel. Javanese legendary history links tales of great armourers with the appearance of the *walis*, the apostles of Javanese Islam (see 24.700). The legendary connection of the armourers' art (and some other arts and crafts) with the venerated *walis*, as patrons, may be a reminiscence of the flourishing of art in general in the period of the Pasisir culture, which also saw the spread of Islam. Pasisir culture, the arts, Islam and the *walis* were closely connected concepts in the Javanese mind (see 15.600, 31.080, 42.100 and 43.000).

Beside the few texts on crisses, lances and other sharp weapons, registered below, there are several notes on the subject scattered in books of notes and compendiums, often provided with illustrations. References can be found in the General Index under the

catchwords *criss*, *lance*, *smith*, *smithery*, *ěmpu*, *iron* and *pamor*. Genealogy and legends of Javanese and Javanese-Balinese armourers' families have been discussed in Part Two, History, of the present Synopsis (see 21.200 and 24.700).

41.610 Notes, Javanese-Balinese, on magic and mantras referring to crisses:

cod. 5151, 5326.

41.620 Ukur iṅ kēris, Javanese-Balinese notes on divination by measuring crisses:

cod. 9772 (Krt 1418), 10.012 (Krt 1890).

41.630 Notes on Pajajaran smiths and crisses (and other matters), from Surakarta:

cod. 2170.

41.640 Criss-making, Javanese craftsmanship, from Yogyakarta:

cod. 10.936, KITLV Or 394.

41.650 Crisses and lances, criss-hilts, shapes, illustrated, from Surakarta:

cod. KITLV Or 39 and 40.

41.660 Crisses' shapes, illustrated, Balinese and Javanese:

cod. 10.937.

41.670 Cariyos iṅ para ěmpu iṅ tanah Jawi, treatises on armourers, shapes of crisses, steel and pamor, from Surakarta:

cod. 6433.

41.680 "Indische Wapenen", drawings of state sunshades, lances and halberds, from Yogyakarta:

cod. KHA 0 3.

41.690 Notes on crisses and criss divination, from Cērbon:

cod. AdKIT 651/1.

41.700 In Javanese mythology and legendary history *j e w e l s* possessing magic powers (in Javanese called *manik* or *sotya*) occupy a place of some importance. References to texts are to be found in the General Index under those catchwords and under *mirah* (a ruby). Still, a special jewel divination is not in evidence. The best known Old Javanese text on jewels is based on an Indian original (Sanskrit śloka). Most remarkable, however, is the fact that in modern Javanese books of notes and compendiums of magic lore there is no mention of jewels. As a rule precious stones fit to be set in rings are only appreciated for their colours. In the sacred pond of Dlěpih, in the district of Wanagiri, South Surakarta, small stones or pebbles, polished by the whirling water, are found, and these are believed to bring luck (on Dlěpih see the present author's "Java in the XIVth Century", vol. III, p. 162).

41.710 Notes on jewels and jewel colours:

cod. 3835 (Pitěgēs Mirah), 5244 (śloka niṅ Mirah), 5283.

41.750 Divination, Dream-reading, Augury.

In Java (and in many other countries) divination, the lore of finding or ascertaining auspicious and inauspicious times, circumstances, places, utensils etc., and the art of

interpreting prognostics, dreams and portents, has always been considered of the utmost importance for human well-being. The feeling of insecurity amidst the im-

minent dangers of earthly existence was oppressive. The conviction of the possibility of finding a safe way to do things, and of being warned in time for danger, by means of divinatory calculations and interpretations, was a relief and a consolation. No wonder that so many Javanese books of notes and compendiums of important texts contain notes on various kinds of divination.

Javanese-Balinese (and Old Javanese) texts on divinatory calculations in general are called Wariga. Wariga was an ancient office title in rural districts. Perhaps the rural wariga's office was connected with divination and agriculture. Sundari is another name of Javanese-Balinese divination texts. Texts indicated by that name seem to contain speculations on the connection of macrocosmos and microcosmos, which is the foundation of divination. The reason why the name Sundari is given to this text (or group of texts) is not clear. The generic name of modern Javanese texts on divination is Pawukon (from *wuku*, a seven-days period, originally: partition in a bamboo stalk, Malay: buku).

In the present Synopsis the following kinds of divination are distinguished:

1. interpretation of dreams, and magic practised in order to neutralize evil influences of bad dreams (41.760).
2. interpretations of portents, especially earthquakes, and magic practised in order to neutralize evil consequences (41.770—41.800).
3. interpretation of prognostics, especially vibrations felt in various limbs of the human body (41.810). Prognostics of the coming hour of death, in Javanese-Balinese texts, have been registered in Part
4. calculations in order to find auspicious times, circumstances and places, by means of counting (*těnun*), especially using the numerical values of letters (of names) and chronological units (days of the various kinds of weeks, known to the Javanese, from the two-days week up to the ten-days week); geomancy, in order to find good places for dwellings and other buildings (41.820—41.850).
5. Wariga texts, compendiums of Javanese-Balinese divination (41.860—41.900).
6. Sundari texts, Javanese-Balinese divinatory speculations (41.910—41.930).
7. Pawukon texts, modern Javanese compendiums of divination, predictions of characters, and future experiences in life, mainly based on the place of one's birthday in the intricate intersecting system of Javanese weeks and *wukus* (41.940—41.960).

The series of thirty *wukus* (seven-days weeks, having individual names) may be a survival of an ancient "agricultural year", especially connected with the cultivation of rice. The myth of Sinta and Watu Gunung, mother (and wife) and son (and husband), the first and the thirtieth *wuku*, is the tale of the origin of the *wuku* series. It seems to contain some references to rice. Pawukon texts, which deal with the lore of the *wukus* and their characters, influencing human destiny, are connected both with divination and chronology. More purely chronological texts have been listed under the next head (42.000).

Astrology in the proper sense of the word, the casting of horoscopes, is not found in Javanese texts, though the names of planets and constellations are mentioned. The Javanese-Balinese so-called astrological texts (*palalintangan*, from *lintang*: star) are not really based on the moving and the position of stars and constellations. The names of the constellations are only used as units in an intricate system connected with the *paruwukon*. In indigenous Javanese chronology the observation of the moving of one star, Orion, is important. The modern Javanese “agricultural year”, called *manṣa* calendar, determining the phases of rice cultivation, is based on the observation of constellations. It was used for a long time; but eventually modern almanacs based on European science made it superfluous. Texts referring to it will be mentioned under the head Chronology.

Divination texts both of the pre-Islamic and the Muslim period of Javanese cultural history are in evidence. In the older period Indian divination exercised some influence, in the later period influence of Arabic divination is noticeable.

Under the head Magic (40.250), the relationship of belief in magic practices and divinatory calculations has been mentioned. Many Javanese books of notes and compendiums contain texts on both subjects. In the General Index references to such manuscripts can be found under the catchwords *divination*, *wariga*, *Sundari*, *paruwukon*, *prognostics*, *portents*, *earthquakes*, *eclipses*, *dreams*, *vibrations*, *pal*, *palakiyah*, *ramal*, *palintangan*.

Modern Javanese and modern Javanese-Balinese texts on various kinds of divination

were repeatedly published by local printers in Java and Bali. The almanacs published annually by Messrs. Buning of Yogyakarta and by “Volkslektuur”, Batavia, usually contained some notes on divinatory calculations. Van Hien’s “Javaanse Geesten-“wereld” contains useful information. The basic interrelationship between divination and the cosmic classification system (of four units: the points of the compass, and a central unit) has been explained by the present author in a paper on “Wichelarij “en Klassifikatie”, in Feestbundel K.B.G. 1928, vol. II.

(1) **41.760** Dream-reading: Ala-ayuniṅ Ipèn, Javanese-Balinese:

cod. 9428 (Ala-ayu niṅ Ipèn, Krt 722), 10.004 (Laksana niṅ Ipèn, Krt 1878).

(2) **41.770** Portents, omens of imminent disasters, Javanese-Balinese:

cod. 9535 (Pariwéśa, Prawéśa, Krt 936).

41.780 Bagawan Garga, Javanese-Balinese, on portents, earthquakes:

cod. 9174 (Krt 160), 9682 (Krt 1196g), 9897 (Krt 1651).

41.790 Notes on portents, earthquakes etc., Arabic script:

cod. 6522 (from Surakarta), 7909.

41.800 Waruga Gëmět, Javanese-Sundanese notes on earthquakes etc.:

cod. NBS 238.

(3) **41.810** Pakēdutan, Javanese-Balinese notes on vibration of limbs of the human body:

cod. 9584 (Krt 1032).

(4) **41.820** Těnuṣ, Javanese-Balinese div-

inatory calculations, counting divination:

cod. 5214 (Catur Cantaka), 5289 (Catur Cantaka), 9098 (Krt 40), 9105 (Siksa niṅ tēnuṅ, Krt 48), 9185 (Rěsi Bawa, illness, Krt 177), 9293 (Tēnuṅ kėlaṅan, recovering lost goods, Krt 411), 9580 (Tēnuṅ pawēton, births, Krt 1029), 9616 (Tēnuṅ bėliṅ, pregnancy, Krt 1087), 9738 (Tēnuṅ Catur Cuntaka, disease, Krt 1335), 9792 (Tēnuṅ taña lara, diseases, Krt 1444), 10.279 (Tēnuṅ patēmuan, marriage partners, Krt 2368).

41.830 Muhūrta Lakṣana, Old Javanese divinatory calculations, Sanskrit śloka:

cod. 5233, 10.058 (Krt 1984).

41.840 Pakarman, Javanese-Balinese divinatory calculations with reference to marriage partners:

cod. 9384 (Pakarmayan, Krt 630), 9999 (Krt 1863).

41.850 Apitan, Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese geomancy, auspicious and inauspicious sites:

cod. 3796 (combined with the lawbook Sāra Samuścaya), 5266 (compendium = 10.590 = BCB prtf 67), 9146 (Pamanas karaṅ, Krt 103).

(5) **41.860** Wariga, Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese prose compendiums of divination, pawukon and various calculations:

cod. 3059, 3119 (śloka, zodiac), 3611 (Sundari = 4660), 3662 (śloka, zodiac signs), 3672 (= 3939), 3688 (illustrations), 3762, 3769, 4654, 4655, 4656 (Trilinga), 4657 (Candra Pramāṇa, śloka), 4658 (Pawukon), 4659 (Pawukon), 4661 (portents), 4662 (disease), 4663 (śloka), 4984, 4988, 5014 (illus-

trations, palalintaraṅ = 10.397 = BCB prtf 1), 5050 (Pawukon), 5052 (Pawacėkan, disease), 5055 (Pawacėkan, disease), 5067 (iṅkėl won, inauspicious days), 5101 (Pawukon), 5106 (Pawukon), 5118 (Pawukon tables), 5138 (birthdates), 5144 (Pawukon), 5200 (paṅalihan tables), 5274 (Sundari Tėrus), 5292 (Pawukon), 5436 (palalintaraṅ, zodiac, pawukon), 9081 (Mala niṅ Wuku, Krt 14), 9086 Pañca Kaṇḍa Gėmėt, almanac, Krt 23), 9117 (Gėmėt, Sundari, Krt 64), 9218 (Baṅ, agriculture, Krt 240), 9227 (Gėmėt, Krt 257), 9236 (Paṅuṅ Sasi, Krt 272), 9444 (Paṅuṅ Sasi, Krt 754), 9389 (Wėrhaspati Kalpa, Krt 642), 9871 (Pararasyan, zodiac signs, Krt 1607), 10.277 (Palalubaraṅ, in columns, Krt 2366), 10.792 (Sasi Catur Pata), 10.796 (agriculture), 10.798, AdGUB 54, AdGUB 55, AdKIT 1646/32, AdKIT 809/193.

41.870 Wariga, Javanese-Balinese didactic poems on divination:

cod. 3059, 3748 (= 4664), 3856-II (Wariga kiduṅ = 10.395 = BCB prtf 1), 3872 II (Wariga kiduṅ = 10.396 = 10.479 = BCB prtf 1).

41.880 Pawacėkan, Javanese-Balinese method to find medicines for children, based upon their birth-dates:

cod. 3162 (= 10.414 = BCB prtf 3), 9181 (Pawatėkan, Krt 171), 9322 (Pawatėkan iṅ wėton, Krt 487), 10.166 (Pawatėkan rarė, Krt 2191).

41.890 Pratithi Samutpada, Javanese-Balinese notes on divination:

cod. 9228 (Krt 258), 9864 (Krt 1599).

41.900 Daḍawuhan, Javanese-Balinese notes on divination:

cod. 9879 (Krt 1615).

(6) **41.910** Sundari, Javanese-Balinese notes and religious speculations on divination:

cod. 3896-II (Sundari Tērus = 10.451 = BCB prtf 7), 9102 (Bah Sundari Putih, Krt 45), 9106 (Basundari tutur, Krt 49), 9134 (Sundari Buṅkah, Krt 89), 9135 Sundari Tiga, Krt 90), 9143 (Sundari Gaḍiṅ, Krt 98), 9150 (Sundari Wuṅu, Krt 110), 9235 (Sundari Gaḍiṅ, Krt 271), 9380 (Sundari Gama, Krt 619), 9646 (Sundari Gaḍiṅ tutur, Krt 1146), 9653 (Sundari Gaḍiṅ, Krt 1162b), 9654 (Sundari Cēmēṅ, Krt 1162c).

41.920 Sundari Buṅkah gaguritan, Javanese-Balinese allegoric poem, personifications of the days of the week, etc.:

cod. 10.246 (Krt 2314).

41.930 Notes, Javanese-Balinese, on divination, miscellaneous, mixed with magic and medicines, some Muslim influence:

cod. 5232 (tiwa, funeral offices), 5358, 5418, 5419, 9330 (house-moving, Krt 498), 9554 (Krt 982, Kajar iṅ Atma Prasansa, religious), 9556 (house-moving, Krt 984), 10.059 (Swamaṇḍala, funeral offices, Krt 1985), 10.060 (Atma Prasansa, religious, Krt 1986), KITLV Or 299 (magic), REM 206-2.

(7) **41.940** Pawukon, modern Javanese compendiums of divination, with special

reference to the wukus, texts in prose and in verse:

cod. 1826, 2036, 2120, 2130 (illustrated), 2230, 2263 (scrolls, illustrated), 6387 (windu, tables), 6405 (illustrations), 6511 (Pawukon sandi, cryptography), 10.562 (= BCB prtf 46), 11.090, KITLV Or 33, KITLV Or 389, NBS 69, NBS 195, CB 145 (1) D.

41.950 Notes, modern Javanese, on divination, pawukon etc., mixed with notes on other subjects, partly written in Arabic script:

cod. 1977, 1978 (both partly Malay), 2144, 3122, 5599, 5606, 5607, 5764, 5784, 6399 (Ranṅa Warsita notes), 6402, 6512 (Palintaran), 6513 (Pal, dice), 6563, 6623, 7381, 7415, 7428, 7439, 7484, 7491, 7495, 7525 (physiognomy, vibrations), 7550 (partly Sundanese), 7555, 7604 (vibrations), 7726, 7750, 7774, 7860, 8972 no. 1 (Pasatoan), 8972 no. 2 (Lēluri Tani, agriculture), 8972 no. 3 (Pétuṅan), 8972 no. 4 (agriculture), 9004, 9049, KITLV Or 317, KITLV Or 389, NBS 271 (partly Sundanese), AdKIT 1232/1 (Jav.-Malay).

41.960 Pawukon divination, in buda or gunuṅ script, and rustic script:

cod. 2268a, 2268c (illustrated), KITLV Or 47 (= 10.667 = BCB prtf 147), AdKIT 596/63 (rustic Javanese).

42.000 Chronology and Astronomy.

Information on Javanese chronology, the weeks of various duration, from two up to ten days, the thirty *wukus*, the months of Indian and Arabic origin, is to be found in

Wariga and Pawukon texts, registered under the head Divination (41.860 ff.). These chronological items are in particular used for divinatory calculations.

Under the present head, Chronology and Astronomy, some texts on non-divinatory division of time, and on astronomic observation used as basis of that division, will be mentioned. The chronologic division in question is the calendar regulating the duration of the months and the years (see 00120, on chronology). This indigenous Javanese so-called *manṣa*-calendar was for a long time in use with the agriculturists to determine the times suitable for the beginning of plowing etc. The lunar calendar of Islam could not be used to that end.

Explicit information on chronology and connected astronomic observations in Java and Bali (and in other islands of the Archipelago) can be found in Dr. Rouffaer's Dutch papers on "Tijdrekening" and "Mohammed-*daansche Kalender*" in the "Encyclopedie *van Nederlandsch-Indië*". Javanese (and other) texts on astronomy are discussed in

Alfred Maass' treatise "Sternkunde und *Sterndeuterei im malaiischen Archipel*" in TBG. vol. 64, 1924, and in the present author's paper on "Nakṣatrarūpa in the Old *Javanese Aṅgastyaparwa*" in TBG. vol. 65, 1925.

42.010 *Paṅjaliḥan*, Javanese-Balinese notes on chronology and calendar with reference to the phases of the moon:

cod. 9500 (*Paṅjaliḥan Purnama-Tilēm*, Krt 877), 9525 (*Paṅjaliḥan Purnama-Tilēm*, Krt 922), 9878 (*Paṅjaliḥan Paṅjéka Suṅsarṅ*, Krt 1614), AdKIT 274/3, AdKIT 274/4.

42.020 Notes on Muslim Javanese chronology and calendar:

cod. NBS 84 (miscellany = 10.676 = BCB prtf 155), 6393, AdGUB XI/G/18.

42.030 Notes on Javanese astronomy (names):

cod. 6588 (miscellany Brandes).

42.100 Art, Music, Theatre, Dancing, Sports.

The texts registered under the preceding heads (40.000—42.000) deal with more or less interrelated subjects. Most of them presuppose a fundamental belief in supernatural powers, magic methods of controlling them, and methods of predicting the future. In the main they belong to the so-called pre-scientific stage of knowledge. The texts registered under the following heads (42.100—44.900) deal with Arts and Crafts in a very wide sense.

Old Javanese texts on Art (plastic arts and arts of design, painting and drawing) are not in evidence. Apparently the sculptors who made the stone statutes and reliefs of

the Old Javanese *caṇḍis*, the painters who made the polychrome cotton hangings with mythologic pictures (an art lost in Java but still flourishing in Bali) and the wood-carvers who made the artistically decorated wooden panels and pieces of furniture did not write books about their arts. Probably their know-how was transmitted orally from father to son and from master to apprentice. Under the head Crafts (44.000) some modern Javanese texts on the work of Javanese artisans will be mentioned.

The products of Javanese designers, draughtsmen and painters are found in many manuscripts in the form of illustrations re-

ferring to episodes of epic and romantic tales. Especially in Javanese manuscripts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries illustrations are in evidence. The making of illustrations probably was stimulated by the appearance of Dutch prints and illustrated books. Certainly illustrating books was facilitated by the abundant supply of good Dutch paper imported in bulk since the middle of the eighteenth century. Native Javanese treebark paper could seldom be supplied in great quantities of equal colour and quality. Palmleaves were too narrow to have place for illustrations of some size (see 00130).

Javanese illustrations are divided into two style-groups: illustrations in the traditional wayan style and naturalistic illustrations. The first group is inspired by the well-known wayan-puppets, whose characteristic style is of pre-Islamic origin. Probably the sacral rigidity and exaggerated features (long arms and noses) of wayan puppets are meant to express the idea of other-worldliness. Originally the wayan puppets were images of ancestors, long gone, and spirits or gods. In Javanese illustrations personages represented in wayan style sometimes appear together with figures drawn in naturalistic style; in that case the heroes and heroines invariably are in wayan style and servants are in naturalistic style. The naturalistic style may be partly recent foreign import (imitation of Dutch artists). There is some reason to suppose, however, that even in the pre-Islamic period naturalism in art was well-known in Java and Bali. Many manuscripts containing drawings or polychrome pictures either in wayan or in naturalistic style or in a combination of the two have been registered in the General

Index sub voce *illustrations*. In Volume Three some illustrations of Javanese manuscripts are discussed and reproduced.

In Bali polychrome pictures on sheets of cotton, to be suspended on walls of dwellings or halls, are well-known. Usually the subject-matter consists of episodes of epic tales, or *parwukon*, *palalintanan* and *palaliṇḍon* tables, belonging to divination lore. If in the pre-Islamic period similar hangings were made in Java, they disappeared. Instead, in some districts of Java, mural decoration consisting of polychrome pictures on paper was popular. The subject-matter was borrowed from Javanese epic and romantic literature, or from daily life (see 42.110).

The sets of *wayan bèbèr* scrolls which are preserved in distant districts of Java are products of draughtsmanship related to the Balinese polychrome pictures. They were used in popular wayan performances (v. 31.140).

Appreciating the talents of Javanese artists, some Dutch scholars, in particular Mr. Moens of Yogyakarta, between 1920 and 1940, had drawings of scenes of daily life, ceremonies and popular theatricals made by them, mostly provided with Javanese captions. The Leiden University Library only possesses copies of the captions of some of Moens's Yogyakarta albums (42.120). The originals are in Djakarta. Another set of Moens's albums with Javanese drawings referring to popular wayan tales and folk-lore has been registered under the head Wayan (43.000). Some 40 or 50 years before Moens, Dr. van der Tuuk, of Siaraja, Bali, had similar pictures made by Balinese artists. As they exclusively refer to things Balinese, and are provided with

Balinese captions, they are not listed in the present Synopsis of Javanese literature.

Drawings of figures possessing a deep significance in religion, images of gods and goddesses, and magic figures (in Javanese called: *rajahs*), are sometimes real works of art, manifestations of the talents of the designers. So are *kūṭas*, figures mainly consisting of combinations of stylized letters, used as charms. *Rajahs* are found both in pre-Islamic and in Muslim texts on magic, though they are mostly of pre-Islamic origin. The term *kūṭa* has not been found in Islamic texts. References to relevant manuscripts can be found in the General Index under the catchwords *rajah* and *kūṭa*.

42.110 Pictures, polychrome drawings on paper, mural decoration, popular art, North Coast, partly wayaꦱ style, partly naturalistic:
cod. 8496.

42.120 Captions of polychrome pictures in Yogyakarta albums, on Court life, originally collection Moens, naturalistic style:
cod. 6684, 6759, 6792.

42.130 Balinese pictures on palmleaf, illustrations of Javanese-Balinese texts:
cod. REM 2661-2, REM 3405-16 (= 10.977), RtMLV 50479, dHMvO 53657.

42.500 Javanese music, both instrumental (gamēlan orchestra) and vocal, has scales which differ from European and Indian music. Dutch scholars interested in musicology, first professor Land, after him Brandts Buys and Kunst (v. J. Kunst, "Music in "Java, its theory and its technique", The Hague, 1949) explored the structure of Javanese music and learned to distinguish the *sléndro* and *pélog* scales. Javanese musicians, learning the art from their masters

orally and by imitation, seldom found it necessary to write special treatises on music. In the twentieth century, partly under influence of Dutch lovers of music, partly for educational purposes, some Javanese books on gamēlan music and singing have been published. Different systems of noting music, some by means of notes, mostly by numbers, were invented (see J. S. Brandts Buys, "Het "Javaanse Toon-cijferschrift", Djāwā vol. 20, 1940). In Bali, music was noted especially for the singing of poems in the so-called *tēḡahan* metres. In principle all Javanese texts written in *tēḡahan* and *macapat* metres (v. 46.250) were meant to be sung or at least to be chanted, and all metres have their own tunes (or sometimes several possible tunes, see 00050—00070).

It is a fact that music, both instrumental and vocal, especially in connection with dancing and the theatre (wayaꦱ), plays a prominent part in Javanese civilization. References to music are found in many Javanese texts, and in complete textbooks of wayaꦱ plays the *gēṇḍiꦁ*, pieces of gamēlan music to be played with or between the scenes, are carefully indicated. Under the catchwords *music*, *gēṇḍiꦁ*, *songs*, *dance*, *wayaꦱ* and *notes* (*musical*), references to texts supplying information on these subjects can be found in the General Index.

42.510 Notes on gamēlan music, Javanese-Balinese prose:

cod. 9502 (Pupuh Gēṇḍiꦁ Goꦁ, Krt 879).

42.520 Didactic poem on Javanese music, gamēlan, wayaꦱ and dancing, Yogyakarta:
cod. 6516 (Gēṇḍiꦁ).

42.530 Musical notes, Kawruh Krawitan Jawi, 1915:
cod. 8652-b.

43.000 Wayan Theatre. In Javanese civilization music, theatricals, wayan and dancing are closely connected. Popular theatricals, masked dances, shows and pageants, found in many districts of Java with local variations, have been described in the present author's "Javaanse Volksvertoningen". Javanese notes on these subjects are scarce; mostly they have been written at the prompting of Dutch scholars.

Wayan, the Javanese puppet-show, is at present the most characteristic of Javanese scenic performances. Its influence on other arts (painting and drawing in wayan style, dancing in *wayan won* plays) is considerable. Several kinds of wayan puppets are known: *wayan kulit* or *wayan whulan* (flat leather), *wayan krucil* or *wayan kliṭik* (flat wooden boards with leather arms) and *wayan golèk* (wooden puppets with movable heads and flexible wooden arms). Moreover, there is *wayan bèbèr*, which consists of scrolls of textile with polychrome pictures, representing scenes of a play (v. 31.080).

The leather wayan puppets are by far the most popular, so that the term wayan without specification is mostly understood in the sense of *wayan kulit*.

On the origin of the wayan puppet-show some theories have been put forward by Dutch scholars, the first of them Serrurier ("De Wayang Purwa", 1896) and Hazeu ("Het Javaansche Toneel", 1897). In the present author's opinion originally the wayan puppets were images of ancestors, long gone, and spirits or gods, and the wayan performance was a means to demonstrate visually cosmic and social order. On this order human well-being was believed to depend. Still existing exorcist rites with wayan puppets

(*ruwat, lukat*) are survivals of originally sacred wayan performances belonging to primeval indigenous Javanese religion. Wayan plays with plots (partly) borrowed from Indian epic literature (Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa) are later additions or amplifications of the originally simple sacral tale or myth (v. "Javaanse Volksvertoningen"). Koes Sardjono's thesis "De Botjah Angon" (Herdersjongen) in de Javaanse Cultuur" (1947) contains an interesting survey of opinions on the wayan and its connections with other elements of indigenous Javanese civilization.

In the pre-Islamic period wayan performances (presumably still firmly connected with exorcist rites and religious belief) were well-known. The wayan style is clearly discernible on some stone reliefs decorating the outside of East Javanese temples. But the period of great popularity and expansion seems to begin in the 17th century. According to Javanese tradition, the wayan theatre was "invented" by the walis, the legendary apostles of Islam in Java. The new religion, Islam, may have loosened the link connecting the ancient sacral wayan performance with ancestor worship and primeval belief, and so popularization and secularization were made possible (see also 15.600).

The plays belonging to the repertory of the various kinds of wayan shows have been registered under the head Wayan Plays in Part Three (Belles-Lettres) of the present Synopsis (31.080 ff.). Under the present head Javanese texts on the wayan performers' art (in Javanese called: *paḍalaman*) and on the making of wayan puppets are mentioned. At the Central Javanese Courts, especially in Surakarta, interest in the wayan art was

great in the nineteenth century, and some remarkable texts, evidently reproducing part of the orally transmitted traditions of *ḍalaṅ* families, were written. The art of the wayaṅ puppet makers (*paṇatah*) was highly appreciated.

Some Javanese-Balinese texts on Balinese wayaṅ art are also in evidence. In Bali wayaṅ performances for a long time still preserved their original sacral character, and *ḍalaṅ*s were still officiants in some rites (see Hooykaas, "Āgama Tīrtha", p. 10).

43.010 Notes on theatricals and dancing, Central Java, about 1900 and later:

cod. 6310a (Hazeu collection, Surakarta), 8976 (Tētiṅalan Jawi, by Sutarja, Yogyakarta, 1924, Rinkes collection), 10.848 (Kraemer collection).

43.020 Darma Pawayaṅan, Javanese-Balinese notes on wayaṅ performers' art, incantations etc.:

cod. 9148 (Krt 106), 9277 (Krt 369a), 9648 (Krt 1151), 9874 (Krt 1610), 10.793.

43.030 Paḍalaṅan, Central Javanese notes on the wayaṅ performers' art, with texts of songs:

cod. 4360 (= 10.464 = BCB prtf 8), 6386 (Nitidipura, Yogyakarta), 6692 (Lagu Tama, Kawruh iṅ Ḍalaṅ, Surakarta), 10.825 (Lagu Tama, Surakarta), CB 27.

43.040 Ugēr Paḍalaṅan, by paṅéran Kusu-madilaga, Surakarta (Sastra Miruda):

cod. 5773, 6389.

43.050 Wanda Wayaṅ, types of wayaṅ puppets, Surakarta:

cod. 10.824, 10.830, CB 27.

43.060 Wayaṅ puppets and wayaṅ puppet makers, Yogyakarta:

cod. 10.927, 10.928, 10.929, 10.931 (Moens collection), KITLV Or 395.

43.070 Wayaṅ puppets of various kinds:
cod. 10.932, 10.933 (Moens collection).

43.080 Wayaṅ requisites, types of *gunuṅans* (central décor pieces of the wayaṅ show):
cod. 10.926 (Moens collection).

43.090 Wayaṅ in modern Javanese culture, lecture by M. D. Městaka, 1932:
cod. 10.829 (Kraemer collection).

43.100 Ḍalaṅ Surakarta, genealogy of a Court *ḍalaṅ*'s family:
cod. 10.826.

43.110 Notes on wayaṅ puppets:
cod. 10.823 (Sumahatmaka, Sastra Miruda).

43.120 Notes, miscellaneous, on various kinds of wayaṅ, folkloristic information:
cod. 10.924, 10.971, 10.972, 10.973 (Moens collection).

43.130 Types (*wandas*) of wayaṅ puppets (Moens collection):
cod. 10.907—10.910 (Bima types), 10.911 (Paṇḍawas), 10.912—10.913 (purwa panakawans), 10.914—10.917 (gēḍog and klīṭik panakawans), 10.918—10.920 (panakawans' wives), 10.923 (Bima and family).

43.140 Notes, miscellaneous, on wayaṅ personages etc. (Moens collection):
cod. 10.969.

43.150 Notes on groups of wayaṅ plays, Grěntěṅ tradition (Moens collection):
cod. 10.922.

43.500 Dancing, theatricals and music are closely connected, and in Javanese civilization dancing, male and female and mixed, occupies an important place. Probably several dances, still practised and executed at present, originally belong to sacral ceremonies and festivals, celebrated in tribal communities in olden times. They were visual representations

of cosmic and divine order which was believed to be the foundation of human society. As such they were related with ritual drama, surviving in Java in the form of popular theatricals and wayan (v. the present author's "Javaanse Volksvertoningen", and "Java in 'the XIVth Century'").

Various kinds of male and female (but separated) dancing were cultivated at Javanese and Balinese Courts, and so attained a high grade of perfection. In modern times these ancient Court dances, often combined with wayan won performances, are practised in dancing clubs all over the country. These dances are a characteristic feature of Javanese civilization. In the twentieth century several manuals of Javanese dancing have been published by local printers in Java.

Mixed dancing, in Java and Bali in the form of a courting dance of one or several male dancers circling around one or several professional dancing women (*tanḍak*, *talèḍèk*, *ronḡèn*) used to be very popular in the country. Dancing parties (in modern Javanese called *tayuban*) were organized on the occasion of weddings and circumcision rites. At community festivals, especially those which were associated with agriculture and fertility of the earth, there were often dancing women present. Probably their appearance on these occasions was a survival of an ancient sacral ceremony in honour of the chthonic goddess, who in present day Javanese folk-lore is called the Maiden Queen of the Southern Ocean (Ratu Lara Kidul). In later times, on account of the association with eroticism and the disorderliness often going with the public mixed dancing parties, they fell into discredit with pious Muslims

and with the Government and were discouraged as much as possible. In modern Javanese society dancing in the manner of the professional dancing women of old is often considered indecent (see 44.900, liquor).

Javanese manuscripts especially dealing with dancing are not in evidence. References to texts on dancing can be found in the General Index under the catchwords: *dance*, *jogèd*, *tanḍak*, *talèḍèk*, *ronḡèn*.

43.750 In the present Synopsis sports, games and pastimes have been mentioned under several heads: katuranggan, horsemanship (41.000), cockfights (41.100), turtledoves (41.250). Boys' and girls' games and songs, and playing at cards, are described in *cod.* 6684, containing the captions of the Yogyakarta albums belonging to the Moens collection (42.120).

The girls' games and songs called after ni Towon or Towok or Tohok and ni Diwut (references in the General Index under these names) deserve special interest because of their probable connection with ancient shamanistic rites (see the present author's "Java 'in the XIVth Century'", vol. IV, p. 198). A puppet which by means of a spiritualistic rite is animated by the girls and at the end of the game rendered inanimate again, occupies the central place in these mesmerizing games. H. Overbeck's "Javaanse Meisjes—'spelen en Kinderliedjes'" contains ample information on the subject (see 00060).

43.760 Children's ditties and girls' games:
cod. 8621, collection Hazeu, Sukardi).

43.770 Children's games and ditties:
cod. 8975 no. 1, 8975 no. 2.

44.000 Crafts, Architecture, Agriculture, Cookery.

Some texts on crafts have already been mentioned under the heads *Crisses* (41.600, in connection with magic) and *Wayan* (43.000 in connection with art). In Java, craftsmanship has relations with divination (practised in order to find auspicious times to begin with a projected work and auspicious places where to build) and also with religion (incantations, offerings and prayers to ask for divine assistance) and magic (to make and apply charms securing success). In some historical texts artisans, especially makers of crisses, occupy an important place. Genealogies of armourers' families (*paṇḍé*, *ěmpu*) have been listed in Part Two, History, of the present Synopsis (21.200 and 24.700). References to texts on the subject can be found in the General Index under the catchwords: *craft*, *craftsman*, *ěmpu*, *smith*, *uṇḍagi*.

Whereas male arts and crafts, mainly using metals, wood, bamboo and leather, to some extent drew the attention of Javanese authors, so as to prompt them to write treatises on those subjects, the female arts of weaving and batikting were mostly ignored. In mythic history a weaving girl, and the weaver's lath, are mentioned, and in mystic Islamic literature a *suluk batik* is known. But Javanese texts especially dealing with the arts of weaving and batikting are scarce.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, Javanese (and in general Indonesian) arts and crafts began to attract the attention of Dutch scholars and artists. As a consequence some valuable Dutch books, mainly based on information provided by Javanese assistants of the authors, were written. Rouffaer and Juynboll's "De Batikkunst in

"Nederlands-Indië (1914) and Jasper and Pirngadi's "De Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid", (1916 and following years) are prominent in this respect. They contain many bibliographical notes.

The manuscripts which are registered under the present head deal with various old crafts and industries, in particular carpentry and smithery. Some of them contain references to ancient customs and rites.

44.010 Asta Kosali, Asta Kosala, Javanese-Balinese notes on craftsmanship and building, with references to religion and shrines:

cod. 9221 (Krt 248), 9246 (Tukan Waḍah, Krt 295), 9481 (Tukan Waḍah, Krt 832), 10.785, CB 69.

44.020 Wiśwa Karma, Swa Karma, Javanese-Balinese notes on craftsmanship and building, carpentry etc.:

cod. 9188 (Krt 181), 9482 (Krt 833), 9875 (Krt 1611).

44.030 Prasasti Paṇḍé, Javanese-Balinese notes on lore and traditions of blacksmiths, *ěmpus*:

cod. 9659 (Krt 1171).

44.040 Prasasti Saṅgin, Javanese-Balinese notes on lore and traditions of painters, blacksmiths and carpenters:

cod. 9589 (Krt 1040).

44.050 Kaṇḍa Wěsi, Javanese-Balinese notes on smithery lore, iron and copper:

cod. 9499 (Krt 847).

44.060 Notes, Javanese-Balinese, on arts and crafts, metalwork, recipes and techniques:

cod. 5295.

44.070 Notes on iron and blacksmiths, West Java, Arabic script:

cod. 7427 (coll. Sn. Hurgronje).

44.080 Kěmbaṅan cloths, Surakarta:
cod. AdKIT H 336 (illustrations).

44.500 House-building, Architecture, deserves to be discussed separately because of its important place in the history of civilization. Divination, especially geomancy (in order to find an auspicious site for a new house) is of course important for house-builders (see 41.850). So is the knowledge of various kinds of wood and wood-work.

Although building in stone and brick, mostly for sacred purposes, was of old well-known in Java and Bali, Javanese texts on stonework and brickwork are not known. Masonry, using mortar to fix stones and bricks, seems to be relatively recent in Java and Bali. Formerly stones and bricks were stacked without any intermediate layer of mortar. Perhaps in some cases a treacly substance was applied.

It seems to have been an almost general rule for Indonesian builders everywhere in the Archipelago, when following their native tradition, to construct houses standing on piles, with floors elevated from the ground. Java, Madura and Bali are exceptions: the dwellings are built on elevated foundations of earth, stones or bricks. Especially in Java, houses and halls of considerable dimensions were built for Royalty and nobility. In the eighteenth century, at the Javanese Courts and in noblemen's residences, combinations of ancient wood-constructions with brick-work, imitation of Dutch and Chinese buildings, became the vogue. In the course of time this hybrid style, and profuse lime-washing and plastering, became characteristic of Javanese villages and boroughs.

But since the middle of the nineteenth century building in the towns has been done almost exclusively in the Chinese, the Dutch colonial and the modern European styles.

Meanwhile it is a remarkable fact that in Java and Madura ancient wood-constructions on piles are still in use for some special kinds of small buildings in the villages: horse-stables, watchmen's pavilions, rice-barns and private Islamic chapels or oratories. The connection with native custom and religion, at least in the case of the latter three kinds of structures, makes it probable that an ancient, more or less sacred, building tradition has survived up to modern times.

References to texts on the subject can be found in the General Index under the catch-words *house* and *building*. Under the head topography (48.700) some notes on Javanese Royal residences are registered. L. Th. Mayer's "Een Blik in het Javaansche Volks-" "leven" (1897) contains useful information on indigenous architecture.

44.510 Asta Bumi, Javanese-Balinese notes on house-building and connected divination, geomancy etc.:

cod. 9219 (Krt 243), 10.791.

44.520 Sikut in Umah, Javanese-Balinese notes on building and woodwork, divination and incantations:

cod. 9643 (Krt 1142).

44.530 Pamlasas Wawarjunan, Javanese-Balinese notes on building, consecration and divination:

cod. 10.281 (Krt 2370).

44.540 Titika Wisma, Javanese treatise, Surakarta, on house construction, names of house types, builders' idiom:

cod. 10.778 (= CB 130).

44.550 Kawruh Griya, Javanese treatise on house construction, wood, measures, divination:

cod. 8383.

44.560 Purwa Panti, on housebuilding, by Karta Atmaja, Yogyakarta:

cod. 8973 no. 2.

44.570 Wida Wismana, on housebuilding, by Karta Siswaya, Těmarḡur:

cod. 8973 no. 1.

44.750 Of old, agriculture, being the primary means of subsistence, was of the utmost importance in Javanese civilization. References to agriculture, in the first place: cultivation of rice, are found in many religious and mythological texts, mentioning the divinities Sri and Sadana, and Puhaci. Rice myths have been registered in Part Two of the present Synopsis (25.000), and several texts on magic (40.250), divination (41.750) and chronology (42.000) contain references to agriculture.

Under the present head some texts on Javanese-Balinese village regulations and Javanese manuals of agriculture are registered. In the second half of the nineteenth century, and in the first half of the twentieth century, official concern for agricultural methods and rural conditions was steadily increasing, and Government began to publish popular manuals for circulation among Javanese (and other Indonesian) agriculturists. The booklets, in the beginning mostly called *Amoḡ Tani*, were first published by the official Government Publishing House ("Landsdrukkerij", Batavia) and later by the "Volkslektuur" (Balé Pustaka)

and the "Landbouw Voorlichtingsdienst" (Information Service of the Department of Agriculture).

Twentieth century agrarian laws and rural regulations with reference to Surakarta and Yogyakarta are not registered under the present head, but under the head Regulations (48.200). Relevant manuscripts have been listed in the General Index under the catchwords *agriculture* and *rice*.

44.760 Tata niḡ Kěrtā niḡ Woḡ Acacarikan, Javanese-Balinese village regulations and agriculture rules:

cod. 3638 (= 4554), 4553 (= 10.579 = BCB prtf 67), 9109 (Tatwa Cacarikan, Krt 52).

44.770 *Amoḡ Tani*, Javanese information on agriculture, cultivation of vegetables and fruit, by Prawira Sudirja, Purwarēja, 1900:

cod. 8974 no. 1.

44.780 Notes on agriculture: cultivation of maize etc.:

cod. 5560.

44.790 Notes on agriculture, vegetables, fruit:

cod. 8974 no. 2 (Tanduran warna-warna, by Prawira Sudirja).

44.900 As food and drink are necessities without which life cannot subsist, it is only natural that the preparation is an important aspect of civilization. Rice cultivation and rice cooking, and sugar-palm tapping are mentioned frequently in Javanese mythical tales. Several texts on offerings and community meals, both pre-Islamic and belonging to the Muslim period, contain notes on the Javanese cuisine. A well-known Jaya

Baya tale turns on a variety of dishes served by a man of religion to a King.

Of old belonging to the province of women, the methods and niceties of the preparation of food were transmitted orally from mother to daughter and from mistress to maid. In old books of notes texts on these subjects are scarce. Some texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchwords *recipe*, *offerings*, *měmulé*, *dishes*.

In the pre-Islamic period of Java and in Bali various kinds of liquor occupied an important place in social life. In Java, Islam has succeeded partly in putting a stop to the drinking of intoxicants. On the occasion of a popular dancing party with a public

dancing woman (*tayuban*, see 43.500) liquor still is indispensable, however. The origin of these dancing parties dates back to antiquity. Probably an ancient indigenous religious ceremony connected with the cult of the chthonic goddess was the beginning.

Relevant texts have been listed in the General Index under the catchwords *drinks* and *liquor*.

44.190 Javanese-Balinese cookery-book:

cod. 9259 (Darma Caruban, Krt 326).

44.920 Campur Bawur, miscellaneous notes, Yogyakarta, by Jayerj Utara:

cod. 8982 no. 3 (ten stages of drinking).

44.930 Recipes of curries, *buṅbu*:

cod. AdKIT 2725/8 (West Java).

45.000 Humanities; Philology and Encyclopedias.

The texts which are registered under the following heads (45.000—46.850) deal with correlated subjects belonging to the humanities. In Javanese civilization the study of language, written and spoken, has always occupied an important place. Both in the pre-Islamic and the Muslim period, words, sacral or magic, names and written letters (*aksaras*) were subjects of religious speculation; they were often used in magic practices and divinatory calculations. Under the heads Magic (40.250) and Divination (41.750), and in Part One (Religion) of the present Synopsis many texts referring to this aspect of the use of words and letters have been registered (see General Index sub voce *aksara*).

Under the present head texts on script, without religious, magic or divinatory implications, have been collected.

In the course of history, the Javanese language has been written by means of three different alphabets (see 00080—00100): first an alphabet of South Indian origin, which in the course of time developed into the modern Javanese and Balinese scripts; secondly the Arabic alphabet, adapted to Javanese; and thirdly the Latin alphabet.

The Javanese script has various types, belonging to eastern, central and western districts of the island. Facsimiles of pages of characteristic types of script are to be found in Volume Three of the present book. The Arabic script, introduced by Islam, was mostly used in Islamic religious texts. The Latin script was introduced late, comparatively speaking, superseding the Javanese script in the twentieth century.

About the middle of the nineteenth century, partly in answer to questions asked

by European scholars, Javanese authors wrote treatises on old types of script, trying to decipher the Old Javanese charters on copper-pates and stone slabs which were found in many places in Central and East Java. The Javanese pundits' knowledge was deficient, however, and their translations of the old charters were incorrect. By collating the script of the Old Javanese charters with Indian scripts, Dutch scholars succeeded in deciphering the old texts in the last decades of the nineteenth century (v. K. F. Holle, "Tabel van oud- en nieuw-Indische alphabet-ten", Batavia 1882).

45.010 Javanese treatise on spelling and aksaras, Sandi Sutra:

cod. 2175.

45.020 Notes on different types of aksaras:

cod. KITLV Or 214, KITLV H 389.

45.030 Textbook, examples of Javanese writing, quadratic Surakarta script:

cod. 2181.

45.040 Kriḍaksara, Javanese prose treatise on the types of aksaras, Surakarta:

cod. 6424.

45.050 Cryptic characters, flourished types:

cod. 7730 (without clue).

45.250 Dictionaries and Linguistic Treatises written by Javanese scholars. In all periods of the history of Javanese culture explanation of words belonged to the most absorbing concerns of scholars. The contact with Indian religion and literature was the cause of the integration of a great number of Sanskrit words in the Javanese vocabulary (see Gonda, "Sanskrit 'in Indonesia'", 1952). Dictionaries and glossaries were made to explain them, and Sanskrit lexicographic works were partly

adapted, early in the pre-Islamic period. Sometimes dictionaries and encyclopedias were combined (see 46.500). The same kind of linguistic activity continued in the Islamic period, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, at the time of renewed interest in classical literature (see 00020, era D). The literary idiom of the great pre-Islamic epic poems, called *basa kawī*, was collected and explained in several *kawī* dictionaries. The *kawī* idiom contained many words of Sanskrit origin, sometimes corrupt, and sometimes used in a sense slightly different from the original in Indian literature. Moreover in *kawī* dictionaries of the nineteenth century a number of antiquated and dialectical words of Javanese origin, and some Arabic and Malay words are explained. They prove that Central Javanese scholars of the time studied some Javanese literary works belonged to the preceding period of the Pasisir, North Coast, culture, which was already Islamic, in addition to their study of pre-Islamic epic poems.

Arabic words also were introduced into the Javanese vocabulary in great numbers, when the Javanese were converted to Islam in the sixteenth century. Several Arabic treatises on theology, mysticism and law were studied by Javanese divines. In many cases Malay translations or commentaries seem to have been the intermediary. Javanese glosses written under the lines of Arabic texts and Kur'an copies are frequently found in manuscripts. But no extensive Arabic-Javanese lexicographic activity, comparable with the compilation of the Sanskrit-kawī dictionaries, is in evidence. Probably this fact is a consequence of the characteristic difference between pre-Islamic Indian in-

fluence in Java, which pervaded the whole of the culture: religion, mythology, literature and science on the one hand, and the influence of Islam, which in the main was restricted to religion and religious law, on the other. True, some literary works of Indian-Persian origin, written in the spirit of Islam (the *Ménak Amir Hamza* tales) became part of the belletristic literature of the Islamic period. But on the whole the Javanese adaptations do not differ in style from common Javanese poems with original subject-matters. Therefore they did not call for a special scholarly study like the older *kawi* literature of pre-Islamic origin.

Both in van der Tuuk's "Kawi-Balinesesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek", and in the major Javanese-Dutch dictionary by Gericke, Roorda, Winter and Wilkens, many quotations from Javanese dictionaries are found. Winter's "Kawi-Javaansch Woordenboek", with explanations only in Javanese, published by the official Government Publishing House at Batavia, 1880 and 1928, is a compilation of notes and glosses collected from Javanese lexicographic works.

In the pre-Islamic period, and in Bali, Javanese and Balinese scholars studying Old Javanese *kakawins*, often provided these texts with Javanese-Balinese or Balinese glosses, translations of single Old Javanese words or expressions. As a rule the glosses were written above and under the line of the original text, sometimes connected with the relevant words by tiny dotted lines. In a later stage of philological studies complete strings of glosses of Old Javanese poems were worked out to make literal translations in a (somewhat more) modern Javanese idiom.

Sanskrit ślokas in Old Javanese texts were often explained and translated into Old Javanese or Javanese-Balinese in the same manner.

In the Islamic period Javanese scholars studying Arabic religious treatises on Muslim theology and law also used to provide these texts with Javanese glosses. These glosses were always written in Arabic script under the single Arabic words. In Voorhoeve's "Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts" (1957) numerous codexes provided with Javanese glosses (in that book called translations) have been registered. In consequence of the wide divergence between Arabic and Javanese syntax, as a rule the Javanese glosses did not make easily understandable sentences. In the same way the Kur'an was glossed. Probably the style of Javanese prose treatises on Islamic theology and law and Javanese Kur'an translations of a later period was influenced by Arabic syntax through the intermediary of the glosses.

The General Index, under the catchword *glosses*, contains references to manuscripts glossed in the way as described above. Especially Old Javanese poems with glosses have been registered. Besides, relevant manuscripts have been listed under the catchword *dictionary*.

45.260 Kawya Janaki, Old Javanese Sanskrit glossary, with short Sanskrit sentences:
cod. 10.553 (= CB 46 = BCB prtf 43B, Krt 425).

45.270 Kërta Basa, Old Javanese notes on Sanskrit vocabulary and grammar:
cod. 3131, 3899, 3906(2) (= BCB prtf 2), 3907 (Samuha Wacana), 4002, 4259, 4260, 4261, 4262, 4263, 4264, 4265, 4266, 5075, 5076, 5082, 5087, 5089, 5109(2), 5134,

- 5779d, 6203 (= KBG Brandes 20, lontar 603), 10.247 (Krt 2320), 10.401.
- 45.280** Ādiswara, Old Javanese dictionary of Sanskrit synonyms:
cod. 3886, 4009 (= 10.398 = BCB prtf 2).
- 45.290** Ékalawya, Old Javanese dictionary of difficult words, mostly Sanskrit:
cod. 3906 (= 10.400 = BCB prtf 2), 9138 (Krt 93).
- 45.300** Dasa Nama, Javanese-Balinese and Javanese lists of synonyms and lists of names:
cod. 1831 (Caraka Basa), 2136 (Caraka Basa), 4188 (in verse), 5175 (chronogram words, chronology), 5374, 9232 (Dasa Nama niṣ Taru, Krt 267), 10.056 (Dasa Nama niṣ Tamba, medicinal simples, Krt 1982), NBS 400.
- 45.310** Amarah Tri Dasa Proktah, Old Javanese Sanskrit dictionary, synonyms:
cod. 9610 (Krt 1071).
- 45.320** Basa Dwijodah, Javanese-Balinese (Old Javanese) lists of synonyms and names:
cod. 9786 (Krt 1438).
- 45.330** Kirata Basa, Javanese dictionary of kawi words:
cod. 3167, NBS 91, 8981 no. 6 (Kérata, popular etymology).
- 45.340** Caraka Basa, Caraka Wēḍar, Javanese lists of kawi words and synonyms:
cod. 2008 (Dasa Nama), 6609.
- 45.350** Bahu Sastra Wērdi Basa, Javanese dictionary of kawi words:
cod. NBS 90.
- 45.360** Bahu Sastra, modern Javanese dictionary by Padma Susastra (Wira Pustaka), Surakarta, 1919:
cod. 6682.
- 45.370** Notes, Javanese-Balinese, lexicographic etc.:
cod. 3841 (= 3993), 5189, 9114 (Kaṇḍa Sastra, Krt 58).
- 45.380** Notes, modern Javanese, lexicographic, idiomatic etc.:
cod. 1848, 1854 (Caraka Wēḍar), 5597 (Kērtā Basa, Dasa Nama), 8981 no. 1 (Ari Basa Surakarta, by Wira Pustaka), 8981 no. 3 (Basa Jawa, by Sasra Kusuma), 8981 no. 5 (Sila Basa, Surakarta).
- 45.390** Surakarta Court idiom (basa kaḍaton):
cod. 6502 (edited by F. L. Winter).
- 45.400** Yogyakarta idiom, Liṅga Basa by Karta Asmara:
cod. 8981 no. 2.
- 45.410** Purwa Kaṇṭi, Javanese, on alliteration and rhyme, by Maṇun Wijaya:
cod. 6478.
- 45.420** Purwa Basita Krama, Javanese-Balinese, on formal speech:
cod. 10.084 (Krt 2047).
- 45.430** Tēmbuṅ Tēmon, idiomatic expressions, Surakarta, by Wigña Rumēksa:
cod. 8981 no. 4.
- 45.450** Dictionaries written by Dutch scholars. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Dutch administrators, merchants and ministers, servants of the East India Company (V.O.C.) showed an interest in Javanese studies from a practical point of view, and at the time some Javanese-Dutch glossaries were written. The interest became scholarly in the last decades of the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century; important Javanese literary works were translated into Dutch. The translation of the Bible, the compilation of the first Javanese-Dutch dictionary, and the study of Javanese literature by Gericke,

Winter and Wilkens, of Surakarta, and professor Roorda, of Delft and Leiden, marked the beginning of modern scholarly activity in the field of Javanese linguistics and philology (see E. M. Uhlenbeck "A critical survey 'of studies on the languages of Java and 'Madura', 1964). Relevant manuscripts have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *dictionary*.

45.460 Kawi-Javanese, Kawi-Dutch and Dutch-Javanese dictionaries, collection Roorda:

cod. 2102 a, b and c.

45.470 Javanese-Dutch dictionary by Winter and Wilkens, Surakarta, successive redactions, not published:

cod. 2250 A and B, 3069.

45.480 Javanese-Dutch etymological dictionary ordered according to roots, final syllables:

cod. 6187 (coll. Jonker), 6198 (Vreede).

45.490 Dutch-Javanese dictionary by L. Th. Mayer, 1890, specimen of letter A, incomplete:

cod. 5555.

45.500 List of foreign words taken from the Javanese dictionary, coll. Hazeu:

cod. 6494.

45.510 Dutch-Javanese dictionary made in Maja Warna, 1854, coll. Grashuis:

cod. 6711.

45.520 Correspondence on the copying of the Javanese-Dutch dictionary by Winter and Wilkens, coll. Vreede:

cod. 7946.

45.530 Dutch-Javanese and Javanese-Dutch dictionaries, incomplete, author unknown:

cod. KITLV Or 24 and 25.

45.540 Javanese-Dutch dictionary by Dr.

C. J. van der Vlis, autograph, incomplete:
cod. KITLV Or 226.

45.550 Dutch-Javanese dictionary, extensive, by Palmer van den Broek (died 1883):
cod. KITLV Or 251.

45.560 Professor Kern's marginal notes on Gericke-Roorda, Javanese-Dutch dictionary, 2nd ed. 1875, and on van der Tuuk, "Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek", volumes I, II and III:

cod. KITLV Or 344 (autographs, JNHW Gericke-Roorda), KITLV Or 345 (= 10.702—10.706 = BCB prtf 183 A-D, copies), KITLV Or 346 (= 10.706, KBNW van der Tuuk).

45.570 Glossary, Kawi-Dutch, of Ramayana kakawin, by van der Vlis, autograph, incomplete:

cod. NBS 127.

45.580 Glossary, Javanese-Dutch, of Aji Saka, by Gericke, autograph:

cod. 2150.

45.590 Notes on Javanese grammar and idiom:

cod. 5534 (Roorda).

45.600 Notes on Javanese lexicography:

cod. 6204a (Gunning).

45.610 Notes on idiomatical expressions by Professor Hazeu:

cod. 6310 b, c, d, 6311 a-c.

45.620 Javanese-Dutch dictionary, major version, by Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, Yogyakarta:

cod. 11.034 (letter R, the only one completed).

45.630 Javanese-Dutch Dictionary by Gericke-Roorda, editions of 1847, 1875, 1883, 1901, and "Supplement op het Javaansch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek", by Gericke, Roorda and Meinsma, 1862, with marginal notes or notes on interleaves:

LUB printed books, sub voce Gericke: notes by professor Vreede and Gunning (1901), notes by professor Jonker (1901), notes by van der Tuuk (1847), notes by van der Tuuk (1875), notes by van der Tuuk (1883), notes by Meinsma (1847), notes by Meinsma (1862), notes by Meinsma (1875).

45.640 "Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch

"Glossarium op het Oudjavaansche Rāmā-
"yaṇa", 1902, and "Oudjavaansch-Neder-
"landsche Woordenlijst", 1923, by H. H.
Juynboll, with notes on interleaves:

LUB printed books sub voce Juynboll:
notes by Juynboll himself (1902 and 1923).

45.650 *Dialect Studies*. As a result of a closer contact with Javanese men and women of all ranks, in the nineteenth century, Dutch administrators, officers and scholars began to note the existence of rather widely divergent dialects spread over the island from East to West. Since the eighteenth century the language as spoken and written at the Surakarta Court in Central Java had been generally recognized as the standard of cultivated Javanese. The Dutch administration and Dutch scholars followed this example. In consequence of the establishment of Government schools in all districts of Java, among the well-educated classes the Surakarta standard Javanese became preponderant over the local dialects. Nevertheless, among less educated people and in the villages the local idioms remained. In the last decades of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century Dutch scholars made a beginning with the research into the Javanese dialects. Some monographs on dialects spoken in the wes-

tern part of the island, where the divergence from the Surakarta standard was most clearly marked, were published (see E. M. Uhlenbeck, "A critical survey of studies on "the languages of Java and Madura", 1964). The Javanese-Dutch dictionaries written in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries mention many dialectic words. Relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *dialect*.

45.660 Bañuwañi dialect, East Java, collection van der Tuuk:

cod. 3269, 3270.

45.760 Notes on dialect, enquiry all over Java, collection Schmülling:

cod. 5548 (= 6779 = 10.645 = BCB prtf 79).

45.680 Gunung Kidul, South Yogyakarta dialect:

cod. 6403 (Sěmanu), 6204 (and other notes, collection Gunning).

45.690 Linguistic survey of Java and Madura, transcriptions of phonographic records, collection Berg, 1938-1941:

cod. CB 135 (1-15).

45.700 Madurese-Javanese vocabulary and dialogues by Jaya Adinēgara of Pamēkasan, collection Vreede:

cod. 2248, 2249.

46.000 *Grammar*. In combination with the Sanskrit vocabulary, Sanskrit grammar, too, was studied by Javanese scholars of the pre-Islamic period. Whereas in the course of time they learned the meaning and the use of a great number of Sanskrit words, their mastery of Sanskrit grammar remained defective. Their knowledge of grammatical genders, cases, numbers and conjugations was vague. This deficiency did not prevent

them from occasionally composing Sanskrit *ślokas* on religious and historical subjects. In these texts declined and conjugated forms of words were carefully avoided. The Sanskrit idiom of these texts has been named Archipelago Sanskrit by some Dutch scholars of the twentieth century.

In the Islamic period, on the other hand, Arabic grammar was studied assiduously by pious people desiring to read Arabic texts on theology, law and mysticism. Without an acquaintance with Arabic grammar it is impossible to read even the simplest Arabic sentence without misunderstandings. This is a consequence of the shorthand character of the Arabic script. The duty of reciting numerous Arabic prayers and Kur'ān passages, incumbent on all Muslims, made some knowledge of Arabic script and Arabic grammar indispensable. Therefore many books of notes and compendiums of Islamic religious lore contain paragraphs on Arabic grammar.

In the nineteenth century, the interest in Javanese linguistics shown by Dutch scholars prompted some Javanese authors to write treatises on modern Javanese grammar. In the beginning remnants of Old Javanese works on Sanskrit linguistics, badly understood, were used. Afterwards the influence of Dutch grammarians of professor Roorda's school became noticeable. In the twentieth century several Javanese grammars for schools and teachers training-colleges were written on the pattern of Dutch textbooks of the time.

Beside complete Javanese grammars, sparse notes on Javanese linguistics were contributed by several Dutch scholars of the last decades of the nineteenth century. References to published books and papers are to

be found in Uhlenbeck's "Critical Survey" (1964). Relevant texts have been registered in the General Index under the catchword *grammar*.

46.010 Swara Wyañjana, Sanskrit grammar, Old Javanese:

cod. 3964 (= 3965), 5069, 5077, 5081, 5109 (= BCB prtf 3).

46.020 Kāraka Saṅgraha, Aji Krakah, Sanskrit grammar, with Javanese-Balinese speculations:

cod. 5075 (= BCB prtf 2), 5110, 9137 (Krt 92), 9852 (Krt 1578).

46.030 Notes, Javanese-Balinese, on grammar, aksaras, orthography, etc.:

cod. 9284 (Parama Sastra kawi, Krt 384), 9465 (Catur Sandi, Krt 792).

46.040 Notes, Javanese, on Sanskrit grammar, etc.:

cod. 3173 (Sandi Sastra, Wyañjana Sandi).

46.050 Jurumiya (Aḡurrūmiya), and Ḍamīr, treatises on Arabic grammar:

cod. 5674, 7034, 7039.

46.060 Parama Sastra, Caraka Basa, by Ranga Warsita, modern Javanese treatise on grammar:

cod. 8627.

46.070 Wyakarana Jawa, Javanese grammar by Winter and Wilkens:

cod. 8626.

46.080 Javanese grammars in Dutch, by Dutch scholars:

cod. 2169 (Cornets de Groot), KITLV Or 227 (van der Vlis and Winter).

46.250 P r o s o d y. In the pre-Islamic period Javanese poets imitated Sanskrit kāvya and borrowed the Indian metres, though altogether unfitting for the Javanese language, which has no metric quantities,

short and long vowels etc. Nevertheless, in the flourishing period of Old Javanese *kakawin* literature the poets mastered the rules of Sanskrit prosody sufficiently well. They assiduously studied texts on Sanskrit metres. Under the present head several of these texts are registered. The development of Javanese prosody has been discussed in the Preliminary Historical Remarks (00050—00070).

References to texts on Javanese metres are to be found in Uhlenbeck's "Critical Survey" (1964) and in the General Index under the catchwords *metres* and *Wĕrta Sañcaya*.

46.260 *Caṇḍa Wargākṣara, Caṇḍāksara*, Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese treatises on metres and poetics:

cod. 5109-II (= BCB prt 3), 9708 (Krt 1267, *Saṇaskĕrta Caṇḍa Marmala*), CB 52 (= 10.550 = BCB prtf 43A, Krt 213), CB 54 (= 10.551 = BCB prtf 43A, Krt 279).

46.270 *Guru Lagu*, Javanese-Balinese treatise on metrics:

cod. 10.158 (Krt 2177).

46.280 Notes, Javanese, on metres etc., coll. Gericke:

cod. NBS 75.

46.290 *Mardawa Basa*, by Purna Pranata, Surakarta:

cod. 8982 no. 2.

46.300 Notes on metres, *tĕmbar, gĕdĕ, tĕjahān* and *macapat*, Natadiraja:

cod. 6508.

46.310 Notes on metres by van der Tuuk:

cod. 3364.

46.350 *Chronograms*. In Javanese

literature, both pre-Islamic and Muslim, years were seldom given in numerals. It was almost a standing rule to indicate years by means of chronograms (Javanese: *saṅkalas*), words having numeral connotations, which were linked up instead of numbers. Perhaps the origin of the use of chronograms was mnemonic. In orally transmitted information it proved easier to remember a series of words, indicating a year, than a number. As a rule numeral connotations of words used in chronograms are based on Indian religion and literature, e.g. every word meaning water has the numeral connotation: four, because of the four oceans of ancient Indian mythic geography. Most chronogram words are Sanskrit loan words.

Javanese scholars of all periods wrote treatises on chronograms, and in many compendiums and books of notes lists of chronogram words are incorporated. The lists are called *Candra Saṅkala*, with reference to the initial words: *rupa* (shape), *candra* (moon), both having the connotation: one, of a popular *saṅkala* mnemonic stanza. *Candra Saṅkala* texts were repeatedly published in Java. Brata Kĕsawa's "Katrajan 'iṅ Candra Saṅkala'" ("Volkslektuur", Batavia, 1928) contains explanations of the numeral connotations of the chronogram words in general use.

In the General Index manuscripts containing lists of chronogram words are registered under the catchword *candra saṅkala*. Lists of historical chronograms have been discussed in Part Two, History, of the present Synopsis (25.400).

46.360 *Candra Gĕni, Raṅga Warsita* compendium:

cod. 6422, 6597.

46.370 Candra Saṅkala, by Jaga Kartika:
cod. 8982 no. 1.

46.380 Pasaṅkalan, Javanese-Balinese poem
on chronograms:

cod. 10.145.

46.390 Pasasaṅkalan, Javanese-Balinese
chronograms:

cod. 5109-III (= BCB prtf 3).

46.450 Study of Literature. Though historical exactness is the weak point of many Javanese books, some Javanese and Balinese authors showed an interest in the dates of the old texts which they studied. In fact several Old Javanese *kakawins* contain notes referring to the name of the poet and his Royal patron, and the year of the composition. So for later authors it was not difficult to make lists out of those data. Probably in some cases the authors' own opinions or guesses were added.

Beside the lists referring to Old Javanese *kakawins*, mentioned under the present head, there is a list referring to later Javanese literature, of the Islamic period. It is inserted in C. F. Winter's "Javaansche Zamen-spraken". Probably the informant was Yasadipura, the authority on Javanese literature of his time (the period of the Surakarta classical renaissance, in the beginning of the nineteenth century).

46.460 Prastuti niṅ kakawin:

cod. 5108, 5109-IV (= BCB prtf 3).

46.470 Pawatēkan iṅ kakawin, on chrono-
grams of Old Javanese poems:

cod. CB 62 (= BCB prtf 26).

46.480 Wawatēkan iṅ kakawin:

cod. 4672.

46.500 Encyclopedias. In all periods

of the history of Javanese culture there have been authors who set themselves at collecting information on all sorts of subjects and who compiled their findings in bulky books. As a result Javanese literature has a number of encyclopedical works (though as a rule not alphabetically arranged), and several religious, historical and belletristic works are full of encyclopedical information not related to the leading motive of the book. The numerous books of notes and compendiums, found in all major collections of Javanese manuscripts, often are private encyclopedias on a small scale, filled with all pieces of information which the owner thought interesting. Sometimes encyclopedias and dictionaries are combined (see 45.250).

Probably in the pre-Islamic period the Parwas of the Mahābhārata and the puranic literature of Indian origin suggested Javanese authors the idea of making compilations of mythical and epical tales (see J. Ensink, "The Old Javanese Cantaka Parwa "and its tale of Sutasoma", BKI, in preparation, and 20.300). In the Islamic period the universal histories, beginning with Adam, were combined with the older tradition to make the monumental Kaṇḍas (see 23.100). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the production of comprehensive works on Javanese history, containing encyclopedical information on many subjects, was on the increase (the Major Babad, 27.000). The Cēṅṭini and the Cabolaṅ, originally simple tales originating in the circles of vagrant Muslim students of religious lore, expanded inordinately so as to fill many volumes (see 30.780). In the second half of the nineteenth century Raṅga Warsita, the last of the *pujangas* of Surakarta, wrote his Pustaka

Raja Purwa (Book of Ancient Kings), which afterwards was continued by admirers (see 28.400 and 31.341). Approximately at the same time, by order of the grandvizir of Surakarta, Padma Susastra (Wira Pustaka) compiled a really modern, alphabetically arranged encyclopedia, the Bahu Warna.

References to texts containing encyclopedic passages are to be found in the General Index under the catchword *encyclopedia*.

46.510 Cantaka Parwa, Old Javanese encyclopedia and compendium of tales:

cod. 3742 (= 4574), 3787 (= 4576), 4572 (= 10.460 prtf 8), 4573 (= 10.459 = BCB prtf 8), 4575, 4577 (= 10.461 = BCB prtf 8), 4578 (= 10.462 = BCB prtf 8), 6435 (Cataka Parwa), 9286 (Krt 389), 10.178 (Krt 2211, fragment, Kapi Parwa).

46.520 Caṇḍa Kirana, Old Javanese Sanskrit and mythologic dictionary:

cod. 4570 (= 4571 = BCB prtf 80).

46.530 Bahu Warna by Padma Susastra (Wira Pustaka), Surakarta:

cod. 6681.

46.600 Study of Old Javanese Charters. For a long time Javanese inscriptions on stone slabs and copperplates, found in many places all over the island, have drawn the attention of European travellers. Javanese and Dutch scholars tried to read and to translate them since the beginning of the nineteenth century. At first their attempts were unsuccessful, and not until the last decades of the century the most important texts were deciphered by Dutch scholars who collated the script with South Indian scripts (see 45.000). The principal collections of transcriptions of Old Javanese

charters are: "Kawi Oorkonden", by A. B. Cohen Stuart, 1875; "Oud-Javaansche Oor-konden", by Brandes, edited by N. J. Krom, Verh. KBG vol. 60, 1913; and "Inscripties van Indonesië" (= "Prasasti Indonesia", transcriptions and translations by de Casparis and by Poerbatjaraka), 1940 and 1950-'56. A number of comparable charters, but written in Old Balinese instead of Old Javanese, were found in Bali. They have been deciphered and edited by R. Goris ("Prasasti Bali", 1954).

Some Old Javanese or Javanese-Balinese manuscripts contain references to ancient charters. They have been listed in the General Index under the catchword *charters*. The original purpose of the authors and makers of Old Javanese charters has been discussed under the head Historical Documents, in Part Two of the present Synopsis (20.000).

Decrees and charters issued by various Javanese Kings, either originals or copies, have been registered under the head Regulations (48.200). Those which were issued in the Islamic period are mostly called *uṇḍaṅ-uṇḍaṅs* and *piyaḡḡms*. Under the present head manuscripts containing notes written by the first scholars who tried to decipher and to translate Old Javanese charters are collected.

46.610 Notes on Old Javanese inscriptions on stone slabs and copper-plates, attempts to decipher them:

cod. 2026, 2180, 2245, 2261 A and B, 2264, 3093, 3094, 5000, 6945, KITLV Or 41/42.

46.620 Concordance of Cohen Stuart's Kawi Oorkonden (1875):

cod. 3276.

46.750 Readers and Textbooks.

It seems difficult to designate some texts in Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese literature as written especially to be used as textbooks for educational purposes. No doubt the numerous didactic-moralistic texts listed in Part One of the present Synopsis (see 13.000) were often read and copied in order to practise the art of writing and reading. But then, probably, among the readers and listeners the young and uneducated were mixed with grown-up persons who sought religious edification.

In the Islamic period Arabic books were used as textbooks in religious schools where the young were taught the principles of the Faith. In order to make the Arabic texts understandable for Javanese pupils they were provided with Javanese glosses written under the lines of the original. In some cases these glosses were worked up into Javanese religious textbooks. In Part One, Religion and Ethics, of the present Synopsis, many religious textbooks have been registered (see 15.800).

Modern European schools, appearing in Java in the nineteenth century, required readers, primers and textbooks of all subjects of instruction. In the beginning authors of Javanese textbooks imitated Dutch ones. In the course of time, especially in the twentieth century, many original Javanese textbooks were written and published in Java or in The Netherlands. Some of them contain interesting information on daily life, arts and crafts, games and pastimes of common Javanese people.

Since time immemorial folk-tales, fairy-tales, animal fables and children's stories must have existed in Java, and the art of telling them, belonging to old women or old

men, was appreciated by young and old. The texts seem never to have been written down, though, because they were not considered to be of any consequence. Finally, in the last decades of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century, some Javanese authors were persuaded by Dutch scholars to commit folk-tales to writing. A number of these folk-tales, considered suitable reading-matter for young people, were published by "Volkslektuur". In the present Synopsis folk-tales and novellistic stories, though sometimes read in schools, and inserted in readers, have been listed in Part Three, Belles-Lettres (see 31.400 ff.). Under the present head only manuscripts of textbooks written exclusively for use in the schools are collected.

46.760 Readers, elementary Javanese prose, translated by C. F. Winter from Dutch originals:

cod. 2143, 2155.

46.770 Textbook of natural history, translated by Puspa Wilaga, 1841, from a Malay original, Surakarta:

cod. NBS 97 (= NBS 114).

46.780 Notes, various textbooks, Javanese, by Puspa Wilaga, 1841, Surakarta:

cod. 2159.

46.790 Wulaꦁ Basa, textbook of Javanese style:

cod. 6186.

46.800 Moralistic stories, adapted for children:

cod. 5536, 7552.

46.810 Oñcèn-oñcèn, Javanese Anthology, by C. Poensen:

cod. 5796.

46.850 Modern Javanese Conversations, Dialogues, for Study. In the nineteenth century Dutch administrators, missionaries and scholars began to show an interest in Javanese studies: they tried to master the language for practical purposes. To have a guide in these studies it was thought expedient to read written Javanese dialogues or conversations (in Dutch called: "Samenspraken") specially composed by competent Javanese and Dutch authors for Dutch students. In some cases the texts were rather stiff or affected. The best dialogues, however, contain valuable information on Javanese style and idiom, and moreover the subjects treated are interesting. In the course of time several collections of Javanese conversations have been published (v. Uhlenbeck, "A critical survey of studies on the

"languages of Java and Madura", 1964).

46.860 Conversations, "Javaansche Zamen-spraken", by C. F. Winter, called Sêrat Saridin (the name of a boy mentioned in one of the first sentences):

cod. 2142, 6204 b (Gunning's register), NBS 66.

46.870 Notes on Javanese conversations inserted in Roorda's Javanese grammar:

cod. 6616.

46.880 Dutch sentences with Javanese translations, dialogues:

cod. 5549, 5550, 5551 a, b, c.

46.890 Conversations, with Dutch translations, by te Mechelen, 1904:

cod. KITLV Or 36.

46.900 Darma Yasa III, dialogues by pañji Surya Wijaya:

cod. 5556.

47.000 Juridical Literature.

In the following paragraphs (47.000—48.400) the texts on law and jurisprudence will be discussed. They contain valuable information on the development of Javanese society, but unfortunately up till now they have been little studied.

From time immemorial law, ancestral custom, myths and religious belief have been closely connected in Javanese society. Probably in the pre-Islamic period, and for a long time afterwards, life in the rural communities was mainly regulated by custom, orally transmitted from generation to generation in an uncoded form.

In the pre-Islamic period Indian culture acted upon all fields of social life. The great

Sanskrit lawbooks were studied by Javanese scholars in Old Javanese versions and compilations. Rules concerning ecclesiastics, being closely related with religious ritual and divine worship, had the special interest of Court priests and scholars, exponents of Indian brahmanic culture. Common law, and especially penal law, was also studied. The first Old Javanese versions of Indian lawbooks, excerpts from Mānawa Dharma Śāstra, may have been made approximately in the same period as the first versions of Mahābhārata books, Ādiparwa etc. (see 20.100).

The King's judges sitting on the Royal court of justice were taken from the group

of learned ecclesiastics. They applied Indian rules of law found in the Old Javanese compilations. Probably in the course of time their administration of justice was influenced by ancient Javanese custom, and some rules of indigenous customary law were introduced into the Old Javanese lawbooks. The extent of the reception of indigenous rules of law is difficult to ascertain.

A peculiarity of Javanese jurisprudence of the pre-Islamic period, still prevalent in lawbooks belonging to the following era, is the use of legal apophthegms or maxims, which are words or short sentences characterizing a case: a crime or a misdemeanour etc. Sometimes apophthegms are understandable, sometimes they seem to be hopelessly corrupt. In judgments apophthegms were used to designate the crimes. Perhaps, being couched in cryptic terms, they partook of the character of mantras, so much in evidence in Indian religious ritual. In the pre-Islamic period Court judges invariably seem to have been members of the class of ecclesiastics and scholars.

Old Javanese juridical literature was extensive, and it proved to be resistant. In Bali, after the secession from Java, Old Javanese lawbooks have remained in use up to the present time, and the old jurisprudence has been developed in harmony with the development of Balinese culture. In Java, Islamic law was unable to oust the long established juridical literature of mixed Indian and indigenous Javanese origin. In consequence of the disappearance of the ecclesiastical class, rules concerning clerical life went out of use. Rules of common and penal law survived, however, collected in new compilations which were successors of

the Old Javanese lawbooks.

Side by side with the old jurisprudence Islamic law (in Arabic called *fiqh*) was studied. *Fiqh* rules concerning religious rites and family life were accepted in Javanese life. For the rest, common and penal law was influenced by Islamic rules only to a certain extent (see 48.000).

In the eighteenth century Dutch administrators in the service of the East India Company (V.O.C.), ruling over the North Coast districts, began to show an interest in the administration of justice by local Javanese judges, sitting on courts which originally had been established by Javanese rulers. Apparently the Dutchmen, used to Roman and Dutch law, were worried by the chaotic character of Javanese jurisprudence, which was due to its old age and to the fact that it had drawn from various sources: ancient indigenous custom, Indian law, Muslim *fiqh* and decrees of Javanese rulers. At a Dutch Resident's prompting the Cērbon Court judges made a codification of Javanese law, which afterwards became known as Papakēm Cērbon, the Cērbon Handbook. Still in the eighteenth century one version was translated into Dutch for the benefit of Dutch administrators and judges (v. Hazeu, "Tjeribonsch Wetboek, Pēpakēm Tjērbon, "1768", in Verh. KBG. vol. 55, 1905).

In the last decades of the eighteenth century and in the beginning of the nineteenth century a new political order was established in Central Java. Henceforth, instead of one paramount King, Surakarta and Yogyakarta each had a King and a Prince who ruled, under the supervision and protection of the Dutch administration, over parts of the territory of the ancient Javanese kingdom. As a

consequence, contacts between common villagers and members of the Court aristocracy, which was quadrupled, became more frequent and more intimate. The relations between the four Courts became strained, owing to inevitable disputes about borderlines and the administration of justice. In the course of time Dutch Governors and Residents established order by persuading the Kings to agree on issuing simultaneously some new laws (in Javanese called *angĕr-angĕr*), regulating the unprecedented relations. The new regulations issued by Royal decree were not based on previously existing jurisprudence, which did not cover the cases arising from the new situation. They partook of the character of political treaties.

In the second half of the nineteenth century Islam attracted the interest of Dutch scholars. A Javanese treatise of Islamic law, called *Tuhfa*, was published and studied. There is little reason to believe that treatises of the character of the *Tuhfa* were decisive in Javanese courts of law at any time (see 48.000).

In the last decades of the nineteenth century Javanese society evolved and gradually entered into a phase of modern economy and expansion. All over the country the common villagers came into contact with Chinese and Dutch entrepreneurs and their contacts with Government became increasingly frequent. Again, the cases arising from the new situation were not covered by the existing lawbooks. In the spirit of the age the Dutch Government decided to unify the administration of justice all over the Archipelago, abrogating the ancient indigenous lawbooks and replacing them by a modern code made on the pattern of the Netherlands code of

law with adaptations to Indonesian circumstances. The existing courts of law were reorganized. They were given Dutch trained lawyers as presidents. This was the end of the indigenous Javanese administration of justice. Henceforth the ancient Javanese lawbooks were of interest to historians only. As mentioned before, the Balinese, on account of their exceptional status of a non-Muslim people in the midst of Muslim nations, were allowed to keep their ancient administration of justice based on Balinese versions of Old Javanese lawbooks.

In the first decades of the twentieth century Dutch lawyers, studying Government legislation in the Archipelago, observed that in several cases justiciables considered rules of old indigenous custom more just than laws of any code, ancient or modern. This observation led to the study of indigenous customary law (in Dutch called "*adat-recht*"). The information on the subject, supplied by scholars at home and lawyers serving on courts of law in the Archipelago, was published in the "*Adatrechtbundels*", and studied by professor van Vollenhoven, of Leiden, and his school.

It seems highly probable that both in the pre-Islamic and in the Muslim period, the same situation as in modern times prevailed: common people in the country settled their disputes by preference according to rules of old, indigenous custom, through the intermediary of elders and headmen or of their own account. Only cases which could not be settled in this manner were brought to the Royal courts of law for judgment. The Kings, and afterwards the Dutch Government, tried to enforce the rule that at least grave misdemeanours, murder, manslaughter,

injuries and sexual irregularities, should be brought up for judgment, because the King's peace was broken and the country was defiled. It is open to doubt, however, whether even in the twentieth century those cases were always reported.

Under the present head *Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese lawbooks* are listed together (see 00020, Era **A** and Era **B**). Though it is impossible in all cases to distinguish ecclesiastical lawbooks from codes of common and penal law, the special character of the books has been indicated as much as possible. Some juridical texts, especially referring to the clergy, called *śāsanas* (see 47.010) seem to be related to the moralistic didactic books on statecraft which have been registered under 13.200 (*nīti* literature).

Javanese juridical literature, pre-Islamic as well as Muslim, is particularly rich in compendiums and books of notes containing many different texts. They are collected in the General Index under the catchword *lawbooks*.

An Old Javanese lawbook closely related to a Sanskrit text has been published and translated by Jonker ("Een Oud-Javaansch "wetboek vergeleken met Indische rechts-bronnen", 1885).

47.010 Old Javanese lawbooks concerning ecclesiastics:

cod. 3632 (= 3962: *Wrati śāsana*, *Rēṣi śāsana*, *śéwa śāsana*, *śīla Krama* = BCB prtff 4), 3958 (*Wrati śāsana*, *śīwa śāsana*, *Rēṣi śāsana*, *śéwa śāsana*, *śīla Krama*, *Putru Pasaji*), 5056 (*Déwa śāsana*, *Rājapatigunḍala*, *Pratasti Bhuwana*), 6203 a no. 7 (*Rēṣi śāsana*, *śéwa śāsana*), 6203 a

no. 8 (*Wrati śāsana*), 9126 (*Wrati śāsana*, *Krt* 78), 9127 (*śīwa śāsana*, *Krt* 78 a), 9128 (*Rēṣi śāsana*, *Krt* 78 b), 9353 (*Rājapatigunḍala*, *Krt* 539 a), 9378 (*śéwa śāsana*, *Krt* 615), 9382 (*Ajña Aji*, *Krt* 623), 9534 (*Déwa śāsana* etc., *Krt* 935), 9536 (*Bruna Hatya*, *Krt* 938), 9664 (*Rājapatigunḍala*, *Krt* 1184), 10.088 (*śéwa śāsana*, *Krt* 2051).

47.020 *Kuṭāra Mānawa*, Old Javanese lawbook, common and penal law of Indian origin:

cod. 2215 (edition Jonker, *Vulgata*, according to van der Tuuk), 3650 (= 4278, *Digest*), 3878, 3904 (with *Swara Jambu*), 3905, 3954 (*Digest*), 4279 (*Digest*), 6203 a no. 11a, 11b (*variae lectiones*, glossary, index), 6203 a no. 14, 15, 15a (see 2125 b), REM 214-12.

47.030 *Adigama*, Javanese-Balinese lawbook of Old Javanese origin (*Kuṭāra Mānawa*):

cod. 3879 (= 10.441 = BCB prtff 7), 3902 (with *Purwadigama*), 3987 (= 10.442), 3989 (with *Purwadigama*), 4005, 4701, 6203 a no. 1 and 2, 6203 a no. 23, 6250.

47.040 *Purwadigama*, Javanese-Balinese lawbook of Old Javanese origin, connected with *Adigama*:

cod. 3723 (= 3988, with *Widi Papiñcatan*, *Widi Wākya* and *Wrati śāsana*), 3852, (with *Adigama*, *Widi Papiñcatan*, *Widi Wākya* etc.), 4431, 4432, 5098 (with *Widi Papiñcatan*, *Widi Wākya*, *śīwa śāsana*), 6203 a no. 6, REM 214-13.

47.050 *Déwa Daṇḍa*, *Darma Wicara*, Javanese-Balinese lawbook with moralistic speculations, Old Javanese origin:

cod. 3717 (with *Widi Sastra Kamandaka* etc.), 3956 (with *Widi Sastra Kaman-*

- daka), 3957 (= 10.445 = BCB prtf 7 = BCB prtf 165), 4193 (= 10.446 = BCB prtf 7), 6203 a no. 10, 9243 (Krt 283), REM 214-11.
- 47.060** Swara Jambu, Javanese-Balinese lawbook of Old Javanese origin, mainly Sanskrit Mānawa Dharma Śāstra, book eight:
cod. 4530 (BCB prtf 2, prtf 165), 4531 (BCB prtf 2, prtf 165).
- 47.070** Sāra Samucaya, Javanese-Balinese compendium of law of Old Javanese origin:
cod. 4472, 5037 (= 10.424 = BCB prtf 4), 6203 a no. 9, 9376 (Krt 613), 9537 (Krt 940).
- 47.080** Widi Papiñcatan, Javanese-Balinese notes on law concerning ecclesiastics, connected with Śiwa Śāsana:
cod. 5316, 9193 (Krt 192), 10.061 (Krt 1988), 10.264 (Krt 2348).
- 47.090** Purwana Tatwa, Catur Waṇsa Pariksa, Javanese-Balinese rules concerning relations between ecclesiastics and people of another caste:
cod. 10.087 (Krt 2050).
- 47.100** Tatwa niṅ wyawahāra, Javanese-Balinese encyclopedia of law:
cod. 5095, 5250.
- 47.110** Kērtopapatti, Darmopapatti, Dewāgama, Javanese-Balinese notes on lawsuits, Old Javanese administration of justice:
cod. 3139, 3955, 4269 (= 10.447 = BCB prtf 7), 4270, 4271, 4272, 6203 a no. 3 and 4, 9365 (Krt 578, Darma Upapatti, Buddhist).
- 47.120** Notes, Javanese-Balinese, referring to law:
cod. 5286 (Krama niṅ alaki-rabi, Sāra Samucaya).
- 47.130** Notes on Old Javanese law by Dutch scholars:
cod. 6203 a no. 28 (Brandes' glossary).
- 47.140** Satwa Widi Sastra, Javanese-Balinese lawsuits, allegorical, and administration of justice:
cod. 9154 (Krt 117).
- 47.150** Sindu Wakya, Sindu Sasana, Javanese-Balinese notes on administration of justice:
cod. 9189 (Krt 182).
- 47.160** Stri Saṅgrahana Carita, Javanese-Balinese compendium of law, divided into chapters:
cod. 9241 (Krt 280).
- 47.170** Gamya Gamana, Javanese-Balinese notes on incestuous relations:
cod. 9538 (Krt 944).
- 47.180** Javanese-Balinese law terms explained:
cod. 3987-II (= 10.448 = BCB prtf 7).
- 47.190** Sima Désa Bulèlèn, village law, Bali:
cod. 9412 (Krt 691).
- 47.200** Notes on Balinese law:
cod. AdKIT 1270/2.
- 47.210** Javanese-Balinese notes on ecclesiastical rules and religion:
cod. 9807 (Krt 1476, Lēbu Guntur), 9819 (Krt 1496, Widi Sastra Iswara Prani-dhāna).
- 47.400** Lawbooks of Pre-Islamic Origin, re-edited by Muslim scholars of East and Central Java. When the pre-Islamic kingdom in East Java fell, Muslims, some of them ex-governors of the King, became independent rulers of principalities, mainly situated in Madura and on the North Coast, from Surabaya in East Java to Banten in West Java. Accordingly the culture of this period (fifteenth and sixteenth cen-

turies approximately) is called Pasisir (Coast) culture (see 00020, Era C). While being Muslims by religious persuasion, rulers and scholars of Pasisir districts considered themselves as heirs of the mass of pre-Islamic Old Javanese cultural achievements and they cultivated their heritage and developed it in their own way. Districts outside Java, Palémbang in Sumatra and the island of Lombok, east of Bali, were dominated by Javanese Pasisir culture. Its influence spread further, all along the coasts of Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and South Borneo. The links connecting all these districts and islands were: a common religion, Islam, a common heritage, Javanese Pasisir culture, and common economic interests, interinsular trade.

In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Pasisir culture and Javanese interinsular trade declined. The Kings of the inland Mataram district conquered and sacked the Javanese North Coast towns, and the Dutch East India Company monopolized interinsular trade. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries the remaining centres of culture on a national base, in Madura, the Pasisir districts and West Java (Sunda) were only of local importance. All, however, retained the imprint, in varying degrees, of the interinsular Pasisir culture, which had been the intermediary between old pre-Islamic Java and modern times.

Under the present head are registered lawbooks and treatises on law partly dating from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the flourishing period of the Pasisir culture in Java. The manuscripts which have come down to us, however, date at the earliest from the eighteenth century. In consequence of the political and social decline of the

centres of Pasisir culture many manuscripts and works of art of the period are lost.

Scholars of the Pasisir Courts tried in their way to put some order in the chaotic mass of Old Javanese juridical literature. Lawbooks especially concerned with ecclesiastics were left out as being no longer of use in Islamic states. Influence of Muslim religious law, *fiqh*, is sometimes discernible. Some rulers issued juridical decrees (*uṇḍaṅ-uṇḍaṅs*) which afterwards were incorporated in the codes. Collections of lawsuits and legal opinions of competent lawyers were used as books of reference by judges sitting on the Royal courts of justice.

In Part One, Religion, of the present Synopsis (17.000) some moralistic and didactic books of the Pasisir period, showing a similar development as the lawbooks, have been discussed. Both groups of texts had their origin in pre-Islamic literature. Probably the authors of the moralistic treatises and the lawbooks of the Pasisir period belonged to the same group of learned scholars at Court. It seems likely that a distinction is to be made between the worldly Court scholars and the pious Muslim divines who made adaptations of Arabic books on theology and law (see 15.700 and 16.200, cf. 48.000).

47.410 Compendiums of jurisprudence of Old Javanese origin:

cod. 1832 (Kunṭara, Raja Niti, Surya Nalam, Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa, Jugul Muḍa and Salokatara by sénapati Jimbun), 1846 (Kunṭara Raja Niti etc.).

47.420 Jaya Lēṅkara lawbook, compendium, connected with Kunṭara and Jimbun:

cod. 1862, 2125, 6203 a no. 12 and 13, NBS 56.

47.430 Salokatara, collection of originally 1044 cases, by sénapati Jimbun:

cod. 1852, 6203 a no. 16 and 17, 6203 a no. 19, 6203 a no. 20a, 6203 a no. 20 (in verse).

47.440 Surya Nalam lawbook, of Dëmak, connected with Islamic law:

cod. 1904-II (= 10.747), 1910, 2126, 2188, 6203 a no. 21 (1, 2).

47.450 Surya Nalam lawbook in verse, for the Surakarta pradata court of law, by Yasa-dipura I, connected with Jugul Muḍa:

cod. 6394, 6423.

47.460 Jugul Muḍa lawbook, tales of legal cases, Solomonian judgments, in prose:

cod. NBS 68.

47.470 Jugul Muḍa lawbook, tales of legal cases, Solomonian judgments, in verse:

cod. 6203 a no. 24, KITLV Or 256.

47.480 Raja Niti, sentences on law, legal opinions, connected with Jimbun:

cod. NBS 56-V (= 6203 a no. 18).

47.490 Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa, on organization of the Court, in verse:

cod. NBS 80, KITLV Or 254 (Ranga Warsita's amplification).

47.500 Notes on Javanese law, miscellaneous:

cod. KITLV Or 263 (Surya Nalam, Jugul Muḍa and other texts).

47.510 Wadu Aji, Royal Servants of the Javanese Courts (from Praniti Raja Kapa-kapa):

cod. 6397 a, 6397 b, 7378.

47.600 Lawbooks of Pre-Islamic Origin, re-edited by Muslim scholars of West Java. In the flourishing period of the Pasisir culture Javanese lawbooks and

juridical treatises were used in courts of law situated in distant districts. Sometimes local rulers issued decrees which afterwards were incorporated in the codes.

Under the present head manuscripts containing texts on law, written in West Java, are registered. The Papakēm Cërbon, mentioned in 47.000, belongs to this group. In fact it is mainly a compilation of paragraphs borrowed from older lawbooks, belonging to the Central Javanese group, which has been described in 47.400. A manuscript containing regulations of a Palémbang King is also registered under the present head. Royal charters (*piyagëms*) are listed in 48.200 ff.

One version of the Papakēm Cërbon, provided with an eighteenth century Dutch paraphrase, has been published by Dr Hazeu (Verh. KBG, vol. 55, 1905).

47.610 Papakēm Cërbon, code of law of 1768 A.D.:

cod. 1907, 1908, 1909, 1914, 2124, 6203 a, 6685.

47.620 Notes on law and regulations of the Bantën (Surasowan) Court:

cod. 5598.

47.630 Lawbooks and notes on law from Timbařantën and Sumëḍař:

cod. 7410 (with Jugul Muḍa), 7440 (= 7441), 7442.

47.640 Notes on law and *fiqh* from Cërbon:

cod. 7704, 7765.

47.650 Regulations and notes on law from Palémbang:

cod. CB 146 (Uṇḍař-uṇḍař Palémbař).

47.660 Notes on the Papakēm Cërbon:

cod. 6203 b (Gunning).

47.670 Bantën law, Lampuř:

cod. 4280 (van der Tuuk collection).

47.680 Sunda law, West Java :

cod. AdKIT 2725/7.

47.700 Regulations issued by Balinese rulers and village authorities. As a rule treaties and regulations of Balinese Kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, called *paswara* or *titi swara*, were written in Balinese. So were the village regulations called *awig-awig*. The contents of these texts is interesting for students of sociology. The Javanese-Balinese idiom of the lawbooks exercised a strong influence on the writers of *paswaras*. Brandes's "Beschrijving", vol. I, p. 121 ff. and vol. II, p. 246 ff. contains several long quotations from Balinese *awig-awigs* and *paswaras*. Juynboll registered them in his Balinese catalogue (cat. Juynboll III). The interested reader is referred to these catalogues (and to the Addenda in Vol. III).

47.850 Regulations, Laws and Treaties of Central Javanese Kings. The laws and treaties of Central Javanese Kings of the last decades of the eighteenth century were in a way influenced by the Dutch administration. Being studied by Dutch scholars as samples of Javanese prose style, they also belong to the first Javanese texts published in The Netherlands. In contradistinction to older lawbooks they were generally called *Angĕr-angĕrs*. Soeripto's "Ontwikkelingsgang der Vorstenlandse Wet-boeken" (1929) is a survey of this group of Javanese lawbooks. Being mainly concerned with cases arising from the new political situation (the four rulers) in the old Central Javanese kingdom (see 47.000), the lawbooks registered under the present head were never current outside the territory of the Javanese

rulers. Both inside this territory and outside, Javanese lawbooks belonging to the Surya Nĕlam etc. group, and occasionally Muslim fiqh books (registered in 47.400 and 48.000), remained in use with judges passing judgment on cases of common law until the middle of the nineteenth century.

47.860 Compendiums of *Angĕr-angĕrs*, Central Javanese lawbooks and treaties referring to law :

cod. 1843 (*Angĕr Agĕĕ*, Nawala Pradata, *Angĕr Sadasa*, *Angĕr Gladag*, *Angĕr Arubiru*, *Angĕr Gunuĕ*), 2030 (treaties), 2033 (*Angĕr Sadasa*, Nawala Pradata, *Angĕr Agĕĕ*), 2154 (*Angĕr Arubiru*, *Angĕr Agĕĕ*, Nawala Pradata), NBS 151 (*Angĕr Agĕĕ*, Nawala Pradata, *Angĕr Sadasa*, treaties).

47.870 *Angĕr Agĕĕ* or *Angĕr Kapatihan*, treaty of the Surakarta and Yogyakarta grand-vizirs :

cod. 3178 (treaties and agreements), NBS 62, NBS 107, NBS 204, DFT S 240/280-16, DFT 240/280-30.

47.880 Nawala Pradata, decree on the pradata court of law, connected with the Surya Nĕlam lawbook :

cod. 2128, 2131 (with *Angĕr Sadasa*, *Angĕr Agĕĕ*), 2132, 2166, 10.736 (= BCB prtf 214, see NBS 87 no. 21), NBS 82, NBS 153.

47.890 *Angĕr Sadasa*, decree on the rural administration :

cod. NBS 64.

47.900 *Angĕr Gunuĕ*, decree on the rural police :

cod. 2130, NBS 63.

47.910 Notes on Javanese lawbooks :

cod. KITLV Or 23, KITLV H 699 (Balĕ Maĕu lawbooks), CB 126.

47.920 Pradata and Balé Maṅṅu courts of law, Yogyakarta, sentences:

cod. CB 34.

47.930 Lawsuits, judgments of the Pradata Gědé court of law, Surakarta:

cod. 5559.

47.940 Selections from NBS codexes 75, 83, 85, 87, copied for Dr Brandes:

cod. 8994 (Uṇḍaṅ-uṇḍaṅ Yogyakarta, e.a.).

47.950 Kontrak iṅ nagari Ṇayogyakarta, 1755-1836:

cod. 6480 (treaties).

48.000 Islamic Law, Fiqh. In the Islamic period Muslim religious law (Arabic: fiqh, in the present book spelled fiqh when mentioned in an English context) became an important object of study for Javanese divines. Fiqh comprises the whole of human behaviour and action without making a distinction between a religious and a secular sphere of life. In practice the faithful in Java did make such a distinction, though, recognizing the authority of fiqh in the religious sphere only, and allowing the profane sphere to be ruled by custom and secular law. Beside all matters pertaining to religious rites and divine worship, some aspects of family life, namely marriage, divorce and inheritance law, were (partly) ruled by fiqh. Arabic treatises dealing with these subjects were studied in Java, and Javanese translations or adaptations are found in many books of notes and compendiums of Islamic religious lore. In the present Synopsis specifically religious fiqh treatises have been registered under various heads in Part One, Religion (see 15.800 and 16.500). The numerous edifying religious and moralistic poems and treatises of Ahmad Ripaṅi (Rifāʿī) contain

also passages dealing with various aspects of Islamic law (see 16.000). References can be found in the General Index under the catchword *fiqh*.

Under the present head some Javanese texts, translations or adaptations of Arabic fiqh books, dealing with Islamic law in all its aspects, are listed. The Tuhfah by Ibnu Kajar (Ibn Ḥaḡar al-Haithamī), the Ilah (Īdāḡ fī l'-Fikḡh), the Muḡarrar by al Rāfiʿī and the Taḡrib by Abu Ṣuḡāʿ seem to have been studied intensely. They are mentioned as authorities in several Javanese books of notes and compendiums. Manuscripts written in Java, containing the original Arabic texts or parts of it, sometimes provided with Javanese interlinear glosses, have been registered in Voorhoeve's "Handlist of Arabic manuscripts of the Leiden University Library" (1957). The Javanese version of the Tuhfah has been published in The Netherlands by Dutch scholars (Keyzer, 1853; 2nd edition Roorda, 1874; Dutch translation L. de Vries, Verh. KBG vol. 68 no. 4, 1929). The origin of the Javanese Tuhfah is a book of Javanese glosses of the Arabic text, later, after a fashion, remodelled. Due to this fact the Javanese prose style of the book, and of similar treatises, is stiff and unnatural.

48.010 Tuhfah by Ibnu Kajar:

cod. 1841, 1904 (= BCB prtf 218), 1905, 2121, 2172, 2173.

48.020 Notes on law, Ilah (i.e. Īdāḡ) etc.:

cod. 5466 (Ilah), 5469 (miscellaneous), 7405 (Ilah), NBS 85 (Ilah with other texts), AdKIT 2725/5 (special cases).

48.030 Treatises on inheritance law:

cod. 1906 (from Faṡḡ al-Waḡḡāb), 5643.

48.040 Tėkarub (i.e. Taḡarrub), a commentary of the Taḡrib:

cod. 2127 (= BCB prtf 218), NBS 55.

48.200 Regulations and Charters issued by Javanese Kings of the Islamic period. In all periods of Javanese history rulers issued orders and rules pertaining to special aspects of social life, in the first place the organization of their own Courts and residences, the Royal revenue, and agrarian administration. Javanese economy being agrarian, the major part of the Royal revenue came from the agriculturists.

Several Javanese lawbooks, both ancient and modern, contain ordinances concerning the Court. On account of the prominent place occupied by Royalty in Javanese society, Court rules in several respects were put on a par with common law. Especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in the period of the division of the territory of the ancient Javanese kingdom between four rulers (see 47.000), Court rules became very important.

In the second half of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century practically all common and penal legislation was taken over from the Javanese rulers by the Dutch administration. Only the organization of their own Courts and Court functions remained to the rulers. Many ordinances (in Javanese called *pranatan*s), dating from the last period of Javanese Royalty, contain interesting information on Court customs, etiquette and art, always meticulously preserved. In the twentieth century several Court *pranatan*s concerning special celebrations were printed or stencilled by order of the rulers.

Meanwhile the intricate organization of the annual *garëbbëgs*, the great religious festivals, seems never to have been fixed by

Royal ordinance, which is remarkable. Probably in the course of time they developed out of old, even pre-Islamic rites and customs. The arrangement of the pageant and the ceremonies were known by tradition with all courtiers and Royal servants concerned.

Under the present head some manuscripts containing Javanese Royal ordinances and charters (*piyagëms*) are listed. References to more manuscripts, also to those which are listed under the head customs and ceremonies (49.000), can be found in the General Index under the catchword *pranatan*. Moreover under the present head some agrarian regulations, not issued by Javanese Royal Courts, are mentioned. The present author's article on "Afkondigingen van Soeltans van "Bantën voor Lampoeng" (Djawa, vol. 9), 1929) contains an edition of regulations concerning the pepper trade. In some manuscripts of lawbooks from West Java (see 47.600 ff.) references to Royal charters are incorporated.

48.201 *Pranatan* Kraton Surakarta, Court ordinances on etiquette and ceremonies:

cod. 10.843.

48.210 *Pranatan*s and *piyagëms*, ordinances and charters:

cod. KITLV Or 265.

48.220 Notes on agrarian law and titles to land:

cod. KITLV Or 269 (coll. de Roo de la Faille).

48.230 *Pranatan* pajëg bumi désa, ordinance on land-rent:

cod. NBS 87 no. 14 (= 10.735 = BCB prtf 215).

48.240 *Sërat Ađël*, Surakarta ordinance on predicates and titles of nobility:

cod. 6421.

48.250 Cërbon charter :

cod. 7945 (original).

48.260 West Javanese charters, piyagëms of Ukur :

cod. 8249 (copies).

48.270 Palémbaŋ charters, piyagëms :

cod. KITLV Or 260 (copies).

48.280 Bantën charter for Lamput, 1692 A.D. :

cod. KITLV Or 43.

48.290 Pacalan, Kajoran charter, piyagëm, Surakarta :

cod. 10.669 (= BCB prtf 147, issued by paŋulu Tapsir Anom).

48.300 Bantën charters for Lamput, 1671 A.D. :

cod. 8250 (photostats).

48.400 Modern law books, in the second half of the nineteenth century introduced by the Dutch administration, were in Dutch and Malay, as they were intended for the whole Archipelago. But then, in the

lower courts of law (in Dutch called “land-“raad”) the trials were held in the vernacular. Javanese summaries or recapitulations of lawsuits, made by a Javanese officer of the court of law, were kept in the archives. Collections of these papers and some translations of Dutch ordinances have been registered under the present head.

48.410 Lawsuits, evidence and judgments, Dutch, Malay and Javanese, in Central Javanese landraad courts of law :

cod. 5557.

48.420 Lawsuits, Malay, Madurese and Javanese, in the Raad Kraton court of law in Madura :

cod. 5558.

48.430 Government decree, Javanese translation :

cod. 7728.

48.440 Civil administration ordinance of Baŋil, 1825 :

cod. KITLV Or 234.

48.500 Local Legends, Folklore and Popular Customs.

The texts which will be discussed in the following paragraphs (48.500—49.200) are for the greater part notes written down at the prompting of modern scholars. The Javanese authors did not pay special attention to a literary style. The contents of the notes, however, are very important for students of Javanese civilization.

From olden times local legends, related to ancient mythic tales, have been incorporated in Javanese historical literature. Some Old Javanese texts, e.g. the Tantu Paŋgë-

laran, are full of local legends. So are several histories of the beginning of the Islamic period, the tales about the ancestors of the Royal Houses of Pajaŋ and Mataram, and the legends of the holy apostles of Islam. In the great encyclopedic books of Javanese religious and belletristic literature, e.g. the Cabolaŋ and the Cëŋtini, local legends and folk-tales are not lacking. It is a matter of fact that at all times Javanese authors, out of love for their native districts, were ready to relate memorable events and miraculous

occurrences which, according to local tradition, had happened in well-known places. Not making a distinction between myth and contemporaneous history, some Javanese legends locate the residences of mythic and epic heroes of Mahābhārata fame in districts of Java.

In the nineteenth century, partly under the influence of the British administration during the interregnum (1811-1816), some descriptions of places of interest, and records of local legends of the countryside, were written by Javanese officials. In the second half of the eighteenth century peaceful contacts between Dutch administrators and Javanese gentlemen and country people increased. Some Dutch officials, interested in history and oriental customs, encouraged Javanese authors to write notes on these subjects. Many Dutch teachers and missionaries, living in the interior of the country, availed themselves of the opportunity to have local legends noted down by Javanese writers. In the course of time several interesting legends were translated into Dutch and published in magazines and journals.

In Part Two, History, of the present Synopsis, under the heads local histories, legends and genealogies (23.500—24.800), texts of a more historical character, though still in many cases referring to well-defined localities, are listed. The folk-tales, *dongèns*, which have been registered in Part Three (31.420) are sometimes related to local legends. Manuscripts containing information on the subject can be found in the General Index under the catchword *legend*.

48.510 Local legends of East Java: Surabaya, Pasuruhan:

cod. 2035, 2042, CB 145 (1) A.

48.520 Local legends, by Parta Atmaja:

cod. 8980 no. 5 (Lěmbu Sasmita), 8980 no. 3 (river Kětaŋga, Njawi).

48.530 Mount Plawaŋan, luck for gamblers, cockfights:

cod. 8975 no. 3.

48.540 Kědu horse:

cod. 8980 no. 6 (by Jaya Tanaya), 8980 no. 7 (Sěmbrani, by Citra Sěntana).

48.550 Mount Lawu, by Padma Warsita:

cod. 8980 no. 8.

48.560 Pañadranan Bana Kěliŋ, Japara, by Kadarisman:

cod. 8980 no. 2.

48.565 Cilacap local worship, Ĕmbah Santri, by Tasman:

cod. 8980 no. 4.

48.570 Sěŋdaŋ Putri, Wanagiri legend:

cod. 8980 no. 9.

48.580 Jaka Saŋsaŋ, Madyun legend:

cod. 8993 no. 3.

48.590 Jaka Baŋduŋ, Pězgiŋ legend:

cod. 6407.

48.600 Sacred Graves and Mosques. Sacred spots, hills, mountain tops, caves and sources of rivers always have occupied an important place in Javanese folklore and popular belief. Many local legends such as have been mentioned under the preceding head may be survivals of ancient mythical tales connected with sacred spots. They might refer to cults of local spirits and rites observed by worshippers of a bygone era. In the pre-Islamic period of Javanese cultural history cults of local spirits were partly Hinduized, and the objects of the cult were identified with the great Indian gods: Śiwa, Umā and Brahma. Some ancient local cults, however, remained outside the pale of Hin-

duism (see the present author's "Java in "the XIVth Century", vol. IV, p. 480).

In the Islamic period the cult of local spirits was discouraged by orthodox divines. Nevertheless some of these cults survived. Moreover Islam imported into Java the old Muslim veneration for the graves of sainted people, developing into a cult of saints. Popular devotion became attached to sacred graves, found in many places all over Java. According to orthodox Islamic theology the saints can only act as intercessors with God in behalf of humanity. They do not possess any power of their own. It seems likely, however, that in some cases, in particular in the interior of the country, Muslim saints are the successors of local spirits in the worship of the peasantry; the cult of the graves has succeeded old rites on familiar sacred spots.

Religion in Java has always been connected with ancestor worship, the cult of the Old Ones who founded social order. Each dynasty had its ancestor who was worshipped religiously as a mythic hero.

In the Islamic period of Javanese cultural history, in local cults of the countryside and old North Coast towns, a distinction could be made between:

- A. worship on sacred spots, village shrines, often called *pěpundèn*;
- B. worship on the graves of holy men (the apostles of Islam, the *walis*) or on places that were supposed to be such graves, and
- C. worship on the graves of ancient Kings. The three cults were more or less Islamized. Moreover they tended to amalgamate.

As a rule local sacred places, villages shrines, *pěpundèn* (A) only arrested the

attention of Javanese and Dutch scholars and authors in case of spectacular sites on hills, on the tops of mountains, on the brink of lakes etc. The local legends registered under 48.500 are mostly connected with sacred places of this kind. If the sites were not spectacular, nor the legends interesting, village shrines were as a rule overlooked. Meanwhile it seems quite likely that some of them date from ancient times. The tops of mount Lawu and mount Měrapī, Dīlēpih and the shore of the Southern Ocean, where periodical offerings were sent by the Javanese Kings (mentioned in 49.000), are to be mentioned in this context.

(B, C) Sacred graves of holy men of Islam and ancient or modern Kings alway attracted attention. In several cases graves of Muslim saints became objects of pilgrimages (Cěrbon, Děmak, Tuban, Grěsik, Surabaya, Těmbayat). In some circles of devotees the merit of pilgrimaging to the Javanese *walis'* graves was considered equal to that of performing the obligatory pilgrimage to Mecca, which is one of the pillars of Islam.

Graves of Kings and great men also attracted pilgrims, in the first place descendants, or people who believed themselves to be descendants, and servants of the deceased. In fact all Royal, noble or important Javanese families had their private cemeteries somewhere in the country. The grave of the oldest ancestor, the founder of the family, was always the centre. The graves were more or less well cared for by the descendants, and offerings were brought in the eighth Muslim month, Sha^cbān, called accordingly in Javanese: Ruwah (from Arabic arwāh: spirits). The sacred cemeteries of the Muslim Mataram dynasty were in Kuṭa Gěđé and

Imagiri, near the town of Yogyakarta.

Manuscripts containing information on the subject are registered in the General Index under the catchwords *graves, Cërbon, Dëmak, Nädilaru, Kudus, Muryapada, Tuban, Giri, Grëšik, Surabaya, Tëmbayat, Lawèt*.

48.610 Notes on Dëmak mosque and graves:
cod. 8980 no. 1.

48.620 Notes on Grëšik and Giri graves:
cod. AdKIT 1232/2.

48.630 Notes on Kuṭa Gëdë and Imagiri graves:
cod. 8987 no. 1 (Babad Alit by Prawira Winarsa), 8987 no. 2, KITLV Or 37, KITLV H 778.

48.640 Notes on Tuban and Boja Nagara graves:
cod. 8585.

48.700 Topography of Kratons. Beside sacred graves of holy men of Islam and Royal cemeteries, the planning and architecture of Javanese towns and residences of Kings also has attracted the attention of Dutch scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They encouraged Javanese authors to write notes on the topography of some well-known places. The information acquired in this manner proved important also for students of folklore, law, economy and history. In some respects topographic notes are related to the notes on the local legends and sacred graves listed under the preceding heads (48.500 and 48.600).

48.710 Notes on Cërbon, topographic:
cod. 7466 (= 10.773).

48.720 Notes on the Surakarta (and Yogyakarta) Courts, topographic, personalia:
cod. 8652 f, NBS 102, KITLV Or 264.

48.730 Notes on the Yogyakarta Court and Royal compound:

cod. 10.938/10.939 (illustrated), KITLV Or 31, KITLV Or 34, KITLV Or 261.

48.740 Notes on topography, local cults and folklore, various places:
cod. 8652 d, 8652 j.

48.800 Travels and Geography. Descriptions of travels, either really made or fictitious, are inserted in several Javanese books, both pre-Islamic and Muslim, belonging to historical and belletristic literature. The fourteenth century panegyric Nāgara Kërtāgama contains extensive descriptions of the Majapahit King's travels through his dominions. In the encyclopedic poems Cabolaṅ and Cëṅṭini, written in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the principal characters are vagrant students of religious lore. They are always wandering from one place to another. Probably the authors of the Cabolaṅ and Cëṅṭini poems knew from personal experience the many places where they took their characters. Some nineteenth century autobiographic texts also contain interesting descriptions of travels. They have been listed under a separate head in Part Three, Belles-Lettres, of the present Synopsis (28.800).

In Javanese civilization wandering and travelling were important features; the quest for something or somebody was the principal motive of many actions, both in actual life and in fiction. Perhaps wandering men of religion of the pre-Islamic period and vagrant students of religious lore of the Muslim era were continuing an old tradition of spiritual life and behaviour, originating from ancient indigenous Javanese religious

concepts. The idea of a quest for treasure, either material or immaterial, recurs frequently in Javanese tales (see General Index under the catchword *quest*).

Knowledge of the lie of the land in the literal sense of the words has always been considered most important in Javanese life. That appreciation was connected with the sense of cosmic and social order, the starting-point of the Javanese view of life. A sensible man was supposed always to be able to locate the four points of the compass. If one found oneself in a position (for instance in a foreign country) where the sense of orientation failed, one felt unhappy and lost.

In connection with this sense of cosmic order Old Javanese texts on cosmology sometimes contain geographic descriptions of the earth. Evidently this geography (mainly fictitious) is of Indian origin. In the pre-Islamic period in Java it was valued, however. Some manuscripts registered under the head Puranic texts (20.200 and 20.300) contain passages referring to this kind of cosmography.

Under the present head only some geographical texts or textbooks not connected with ancient mythic ideas on cosmic order are registered. Manuscripts on the subject are listed in the General Index under the catchwords *travels* and *geography*.

48.810 Notes on European geography (and other subjects) in verse:

cod. 7735.

48.820 Atlas Bumi, Javanese-Balinese verse, Indian metres:

cod. CB 64 (= BCB prtf 26).

49.000 Customs and Ceremonies. Javanese notes on local legends, partly writ-

ten at the suggestion of Dutch scholars, have been listed under a previous head (48.500). The Javanese authors' interest in descriptions of local events led also to the noting down of local customs and ceremonies. In the second half of the nineteenth century and in the twentieth century several descriptions of family and social customs at Court and in the country were written. Some were published in Javanese, e.g. *Tata Cara* by Padma Susastra. Many authors of a later period were teachers in elementary schools. Their interest in legends, folklore, manners and customs was stimulated by their training in Dutch colleges.

Customs and ceremonies of the Javanese Courts always drew the attention of outsiders. Colourful wedding pageants, annual *garĕbĕgs* and Royal funerals were public spectacles for the populace of the capitals. Country people living in distant districts used to go to town to visit the annual fair (*sĕkatĕn*) held on the occasion of the anniversary of the Prophet's birthday in the third month, Rabi'ü 'l-Awal, which is called accordingly *Mulud* (from Arabic *mawlid*: birthday). In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Dutch scholars collected information on the Javanese Court culture. Religious customs connected with *garĕbĕgs*, and periodical offerings sent by Royalty to the tops of mount Lawu and mount Mĕrapi, and to Dlĕpih and the shore of the Southern Ocean, had also their full interest.

The General Index, under the catchwords *customs*, *marriage*, *wedding*, *garĕbĕg*, *sĕkatĕn*, *Mulud*, *labuh*, *Lawu*, *Mĕrapi*, *Dlĕpih*, *Southern Ocean*, contains references to manuscripts giving information on these subjects. Texts registered in Part One,

Religion, of the present Synopsis, under the head ritual and offerings, both pre-Islamic (11.400) and Muslim (15.500) contain valuable information on religious customs.

Reliable Dutch books on common Javanese social and family customs are: Mayer, "Een 'Blik in het Javaanse Volksleven", and C. Snouck Hurgronje, "Brieven van een We-dana Pensioen". Geertz, "Religion of Java", also contains some information on the subject. Court ceremonies are described in the Dutch books on the Garëbëgs (the annual festivals) in Yogyakarta by Dr Groneman (1895) and Soedjono Tirtokoesoemo (1931).

49.010 Popular and country customs, Surakarta descriptions:

cod. 6691 (Guna Driya by Lagu Tama), 6757 (by Mañun Prawira), 7745, 10.845, 10.846, 10.847.

49.020 Popular and country customs, Yogyakarta descriptions:

cod. 10.940, 10.941, 10.942 (illustrated).

49.030 Notes on Javanese marriage customs, wedding ceremonies:

cod. 8652, 8979 no. 4 (Rënga Krama, by Jayèñ Pranata), DFT S 240/280/102-103 (= 10.742 = BCB prtf 221).

49.040 Notes on Javanese Court customs and ceremonies, Surakarta and Yogyakarta:

cod. KITLV Or 240 (= 10.670 = BCB 147, Surakarta Court offerings), 6523 (Purwa Ukara, Yogyakarta), 8979 no. 2 (Tata Praja, Surakarta, by Suwandi), 8979 no. 8 (Nata Misuḍa, by Sastra Sutarma), 11.005 (Krama Dalëm P. A. A. P. Prañ Wadana VII), KITLV Or 38 (Rampog Macan, Surakarta), AdKIT O 235 (state-sunshades), AdKIT 60/1 (state-sunshades).

49.050 Notes on Tënggër customs and ceremonies, by Javanese Christians:

cod. 10.822.

49.060 Notes on Bantën customs:

cod. 8977 (Adat cara Jawi in Bantën Lèr, by Turamun).

49.070 Notes on Brëbës idiom, manners and customs:

cod. 8979 no. 6.

49.080 Cërbon village headman installation, 1922:

cod. 8979 no. 7.

49.090 Kirab Dalëm, Crown-Prince of Yogyakarta installed:

cod. 7485.

49.100 Ivory plaquettes used in the mëḍun lëmah ceremony (baby's first contact with the earth):

cod. 8510 (photographs).

49.110 Community meals, Wilujëñan, by Sutarja Sastra Subrata, Yogyakarta:

cod. 8979 no. 1.

49.120 Notes on popular Muslim Javanese customs, East Java:

cod. 5762.

49.130 Jaya Atmaja notes, moralistic, autobiographic:

cod. 6500.

49.200 Folklore, Superstitions. Generally Javanese scholars were not interested in folklore and popular superstitions; they were considered vulgar and unworthy of attention. Meanwhile in the circles of scholars various kinds of divination and magic were studied and practised assiduously. Seen from an outsider's point of view, the difference between folklore and popular superstition on the one side and magic on the other is not essential. The distinction

made between the two groups is based mainly on the fact that magic and divination found official recognition of Javanese scholars whereas folklore and popular superstition did not.

The manuscripts registered in the present Synopsis under the heads from 40.000 till 42.000, texts on medicines, magic, divination etc., contain pieces of information which are interesting for students of folklore. The legends, local cults, customs and ceremonies described in manuscripts registered in 45.000 up to 49.000 also are interesting in this respect.

In Part One, Religion, many incantations, prayers and exorcist practices have been mentioned (12.000—12.800, Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese; 15.500 and 15.600, Islamic Javanese), and in Part Three, Belles-Lettres, a number of exorcist tales has been registered (30.225, Old Javanese and Javanese-Balinese, 31.080, Javanese wayang plays). All these texts are more or less related to the popular beliefs which are described in the codexes registered under the present head.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century and in the twentieth century Dutch scholars requested Javanese authors to write notes on folklore and related subjects, in the same way as papers on local legends and customs were written. Javanese folk-tales

and children's stories were also collected by Javanese authors at the suggestion of Dutch scholars (see 31.420). Manuscripts containing the latter kind of literature are listed in the General Index under the catchwords *folk-tales* and *children*.

Due to the incidental character of the writing of notes on folklore they are spread over many manuscripts. Under the catchwords *folklore*, *superstition*, *boar*, *crocodile*, *tiger*, *were-tiger*, *dog*, *taboo*, *papali*, manuscripts containing information on the subject are registered in the General Index.

49.210 Notes on Javanese beliefs and customs, by Javanese Christians:

cod. 10.820.

49.220 Gugon-Tuhon, by Puspa Kusuma, Kuṭa Arja:

cod. 8979 no 5.

49.230 Notes on folklore, were-tigers, macan gaḍuḡan, etc., by Kujana:

cod. 6305, 6307.

49.240 Ceremonial addresses, weddings:

cod. 6448.

49.250 Belief in spirits, by Sutarja, Yogyakarta:

cod. 8978.

49.260 Panitisan, incarnation in animals, coll. Moens, Yogyakarta:

cod. 10.930 (coloured drawings).

MISCELLANEA

49.300 Letters and Letter-writing.

The composition of letters did not develop into an important branch of literature in Java, as it did in some other countries. The contents of Javanese letters is prosaic and matter-of-fact, and the texts are not long. The letters provide valuable material for the study of the Javanese prose style, however.

Since the beginning of the seventeenth century a great number of official letters has been sent by Javanese rulers to Dutch officials in Semarang and Batavia. As a rule, until the end of the eighteenth century, the recipients' knowledge of written Javanese was deficient, so the letters were translated into Dutch, or provided with Dutch paraphrases, by official translators, who probably in many cases were men of mixed blood. The originals were not always well preserved. As a consequence original Javanese letters dating from the period before 1800 are rare.

Manuscripts containing Old Javanese letters are not found in the collections. Balinese letters, however, mostly written on palm-leaves, abound, but they are beyond the scope of the present book. It seems to have been the rule in Bali to use the Balinese vernacular in letters, both private and official, the Javanese-Balinese idiom being reserved for literature in the strict sense of the word. In the General Index codexes containing relevant information are listed under the catchword *letters*.

49.310 Collection of original 17th century letters (Maetsuycker administration):

cod. KNAW 98.

49.320 Collection of original 18th and early 19th century letters (Alting administration):

cod. 2237, 11.080.

49.330 Collection of 18th century letters, official copies, West Java:

cod. KITLV H 423 (portfolio miscellanea).

49.340 Letter of susuhunan Amaꦁku Rat IV of Kartasura, 1725 A.D., original:

cod. 6249.

49.400 Original Nineteenth Century Letters. In the nineteenth century the Dutch officials' knowledge of things Javanese increased. In the Indian Civil Service training colleges in The Netherlands attention was paid to a practical knowledge of Javanese epistolary style. Original letters were collected in great numbers to serve as material for study. Some collections of original letters, containing various types of Javanese script, were published in lithographic facsimile (reproduction by way of photographic processes was not yet possible at the time) in order to give the students some material they could work upon.

49.410 Collections of original early 19th century letters:

cod. 2167, 2168, 2235, 5533, 6205a, KITLV Or 252, Br KMA 49410.

49.420 Collections of original middle and late 19th century letters:

cod. 2178 (also Malay in Javanese script), 2182, 3166, 5553a, 5553b, 5553c, 6204f, 6764, 7941, 8765, 10.877, DFT S 240/280-26, DFT S 240/280-38, DFT S 240/280-104, KITLV Or 26, KITLV Or 27, KITLV Or 28, KITLV Or 29.

49.430 Letters from Bantën, Javanese in Arabic script:

cod. 7408.

49.400 Notes on Vreede's edition of Javanese letters, by Hazeu:

cod. 7943 (idiom and customs).

49.450 Seals, wax-prints, from Bantën:

cod. 8251.

49.500 Nineteenth Century Letters, Copies. In archives and private collections many copies of Javanese letters

have been preserved, often provided with Dutch translations or paraphrases. A book with copies of letters from various districts of Java has been published by J. A. van den Broek ("Verzameling van Javaansche Brieven", 1884 and 1886). It offered material for the study of Javanese dialects.

49.510 Dutch translations of 18th century Javanese letters:

cod. 2146.

49.520 Collections of copies of early 19th century Javanese letters:

cod. 1847, 2162, 5561, 8970, NBS 67, NBS 223, CB 136 (2).

49.530 Collections of copies of middle and late 19th century Javanese letters:

cod. 4394, 6493 a, b.

49.540 Ceremonious forms of address in official letters:

cod. DFT S 240/280-107.

49.600 Archives, Records, Registers and Newspapers.

As a rule archives and registers do not last long in the tropics. It is difficult to make a stand against the onslaught of the insects and the moist climate. Moreover, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the rapidly changing political and social order induced Javanese officials and rulers to throw away old archives. Fortunately, though, in Bantën and Palémbang some old registers could be saved. They contain interesting information on eighteenth century social order (see 47.400 and 47.600, on juridical literature).

In the first decades of the nineteenth century Government required the Residents of the Java Residencies to make historical and statistical records of their provinces in con-

nection with the reinstatement of Dutch administration after the period of the British interregnum. The Grësik records made by the Resident Cornets de Groot are by far the most interesting of all papers which were sent in at the time. The book contains many Javanese lists and descriptions of things Javanese. This is why it is mentioned in the present Synopsis.

In the last decades of the nineteenth century Javanese periodical newspapers made their appearance in Surakarta. In the first period of their existence their principal function was to procure interesting reading-matter for Javanese gentlemen. Consequently many newspapers contained general information on

literature and art. Being aware of this fact, D. A. Rinkes had a summary of the contents made in 1911 ("Inhoudsopgave der Javaansche Couranten in de Bibliotheek van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen", by radèn Poerwa Soewignja, Batavia). Dr Rinkes also collected clippings from Javanese newspapers containing interesting pieces of information, and had them copied. Other Dutch scholars did the same.

Some anthologies originally made for teaching purposes contain various interesting Javanese texts. The unpublished volume of Poensen's Javanese Anthology is worth noticing. In the present Synopsis it has been registered under the head Readers and Text-books (46.810).

The manuscripts which are listed under the present head contain a variety of information concerning religion, history, economy, belles-lettres and art. It seems expedient to list them all together, in order to avoid dispersal over several parts of the present Synopsis.

49.610 Archives of the Bantèn Sultanate, census of the population, 1696 A.D.:

cod. 2052, 2055 (coll. Cornets de Groot).

49.620 Census of the population, Archives of the Bantèn Sultanate:

cod. 7709 (coll. Snouck Hurgronje).

49.630 Register of cases brought up for registration in the court of the Bantèn supreme judge Faḳīh (Pěkih) Nağmuddin, second half of the 18th century:

cod. 5625, 5626, 5627, 5628 (copied by Nurdin: *cod.* 7740, coll. Snouck Hurgronje).

49.640 Accounts from Bantèn, end 19th century:

cod. 5642 (coll. Snouck Hurgronje).

49.650 Grěsik Records, Statistiek van Grisse, by Jhr. A. D. Cornets de Groot Sr.:

cod. KITLV H 379.

49.660 Clippings from Javanese newspapers, 1910-1920:

cod. 8652c, 8652g, 8652h (coll. Rinkes), 6614 (coll. Hazeu).

49.670 Register of estates, plantations, in Surakarta, first decades 20th century:

cod. AdKIT 2522/2.

49.680 Names of Balinese men and women, written on pieces of palmleaf, in files:

cod. 5435c, 5435d.

49.700 Scholarly Notes concerning the Study of Javanese Literature.

The collections of notes which are registered in the following paragraphs (49.700—49.970) have been made by modern scholars. They represent a part of the results of their study of Javanese literature and civilization in an unaccomplished form, and they provide aids to further study.

The collections of Javanese manuscripts preserved in libraries in Java, Bali and The Netherlands will be described in the second

volume of the present book (see the Introductory Remarks, 50.001—50.009). In order to cope with the great number of Javanese texts of large proportions, Dutch scholars found it expedient to have epitomes or summaries made in order to facilitate the general survey of literature. As the majority of Javanese literary texts is written in verse, a list of initial lines of cantos found in one manuscript is a useful aid in identifying the

text by collating it with similar lists referring to other manuscripts. Dr Brandes' "Beschrijving der Javaansche, Balineesche en Sasaksche handschriften aangetroffen in de nalatenschap van Dr H. N. van der Tuuk, en door hem vermaakt aan de Leidsche Universiteitsbibliotheek", 4 volumes, Batavia 1901-1926, is the first catalogue containing such lists. The same is the case with Dr Brandes' catalogue of the Javanese manuscripts belonging to the Netherlands Bible Society, Amsterdam, given in loan to the Leiden University Library (see 49.820). Dr Poerbatjaraka's books on the Pañji cycle and the Ménak cycle, beside providing Dutch summaries, also contain lists of initial lines of cantos.

Since 1930 Mr J. Soegiarto, for many years secretary to the professors of Javanese in the University of Leiden, has written many summaries of texts, provided with lists of initial lines of cantos wherever necessary. In many cases Soegiarto's summaries are added to the codexes. Since about 1960, however, the summaries with lists of the cantos have been collected in portfolios and registered separately. The descriptions of the codexes in Volume Two of the present book have notes referring to the existence of an epitome or a summary either added to the codex in question or to be found in one of the collections of notes which have been registered separately.

49.710 Notes on manuscripts, by Soegiarto : Notes I, II, III :

cod. 10.865 (Aalderink-Klaverweiden coll. *cod.* 8996-9074), 10.866 (*cod.* 10.392 ff., mostly palmleaf manuscripts), 10.867 (beginning with *cod.* 1789, cat. Vreede).

49.720 Notes on Damar Wulan manuscripts, collations :

cod. 6459, 10.535 (= BCB prtf 29).

49.740 Dutch epitomes of Javanese historical texts :

cod. 2156 (Roorda), 8595 (Rinkes).

49.750 Initial lines and epitomes of Javanese texts, Kaṇḍa (coll. Hazeu) and Nawawi : *cod.* 6441, 6505 (KBG codexes), 8589 (Rinkes, Nawawi), 8598 (Rinkes, Kaṇḍa).

49.760 Lists of names of personages etc. appearing in Javanese texts, arranged alphabetically :

cod. 10.440 (Adiparwa = BCB prtf 6).

49.770 Notes on palmleaf manuscripts, Soegiarto :

cod. 10.758 (Yusup), BCB prtf 35-II (Yusup), BCB prtf 158.

49.780 Initial lines of Sri Tañjun texts, Soegiarto :

cod. 10.658.

49.800 Catalogues of Collections. In several cases the manuscripts which have been described in the present book had been catalogued separately before they were incorporated in the Leiden University Library. As far as these separate catalogues were published they are discussed in the Introductory Remarks to the next volume (50.005—50.007). Several catalogues were never published, however. These are listed under the present head. Some of them contain interesting notes, summaries and lists of initial lines of cantos.

Some unpublished catalogues of books on various subjects not belonging to the Leiden University Library are also mentioned under the present head.

49.810 Catalogues of the Lombok collection, made for Dr Brandes:

cod. 8392 a-d (prose), 8393 (verse, kakawins).

49.820 Catalogues of the Netherlands Bible Society collection, by Dr Brandes:

cod. 8766 a-c (with lists of cantos and notes), 8995 (Engelmann).

49.830 Catalogue of the KBG collections Brandes and Engelenberg:

cod. 6504 (notes by Hazeu).

49.840 Catalogue of the Hazeu collection:

cod. 6506 (with lists of cantos and epitomes).

49.850 Catalogues, incomplete or provisional:

cod. 10.880.

49.860 Catalogues of various collections, made for Professor Berg:

cod. CB 125 (i.a. Kirtya).

49.870 Catalogue, provisional, of collection Noosten, by Professor Berg:

cod. Nst 20.

49.880 Catalogue of Arabic books on Islamic theology, law etc., used in Java:

cod. 7743 (coll. Snouck Hurgronje).

49.890 Catalogue of a collection of Javanese books (Paardekooper ?):

cod. 8315.

49.900 Miscellaneous Notes on Things Javanese. In the course of their studies in the field of Javanese civilization many scholars, both Javanese and Dutch, collected notes on various subjects

which were of interest to them. Numerous books of notes concerning religion, medicine, magic, divination etc. have been registered under the relevant heads of the present Synopsis. Under the present head some manuscripts containing miscellaneous notes on many subjects collected by various scholars are registered. Some Dutch papers on things Javanese, written by scholars of the nineteenth and twentieth century, are added.

49.910 Miscellaneous notes collected by Dutch scholars, first half of 19th century:

cod. 2176, 2229, 2244 A, 2244 B, 2247, NBS 93 (Gericke), CB 33 (Gericke), KITLV Or 233 (Reinwardt).

49.920 Miscellaneous notes by Suradipura, second half of 19th century:

cod. 6590 (coll. Hazeu).

49.930 Miscellaneous notes, collected by Dutch scholars, second half of 19th century, and 20th century:

cod. 3265, 3266 (van der Tuuk), 6203 c (Gunning), 6437 (Hazeu), 7940 (Vreede).

49.940 Copies of old texts, miscellaneous:

cod. 2183 (coll. Roorda).

49.950 Dutch papers on things Javanese:

cod. 6203 d (Gunning), 6492 (Brandes), 10.974 (Moens).

49.960 Dutch epitomes of wayang purwa plays, by Gericke:

cod. 2148.

49.970 List of names of mystic suluks, by Soegiarto:

cod. 11.033.